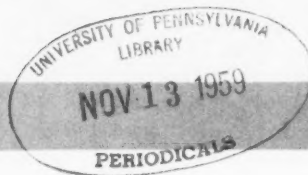


THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE



Bulletin



Vol. XLI, No. 1063

November 9, 1959

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

The Shape of American Policy

by Under Secretary Murphy¹

This is an interesting moment in the history of American foreign relations, and a discussion of some aspects of it may be timely. Your interest in these problems is most encouraging to all of us in the State Department and is an index of the spread of interest in foreign affairs so noticeable around the country. This of course was not always so. Not so many years ago a crisis in Laos or Tibet or even Hungary would have provoked little interest. In those earlier days there was no sense of threat to our way of life. Distance lent a certain enchantment to our views on foreign policy, so much of which seemed remote and absorbed in the vastness of the oceans which then gave us protection in the development of this great country. In those days we depended on the military strength of the European powers, which provided a sort of police protection and enabled us to remain aloof. After 1812 there was never a serious threat of invasion. We were largely occupied with domestic problems and not ambitious to be a great world power. Even during two world wars in which we reluctantly participated there was little or no fear that this country would be invaded or directly attacked. Our situation at home was solid and impregnable.

Factors Shaping Soviet Policy

Now if that was our own situation, in the light of the competitive position we now occupy in the world it might be profitable to make a rough comparison with the development of our principal rival. Quite apart from the Communist revolution of 1917, the history of Russia is replete

with periodic invasions of its territory and the grim tragedy of war in its homeland. It has not enjoyed the protection of the oceans, but, situated as it is in the midst of the Eurasian land mass, it has been exposed to the incursions of the Genghis Khans from the east and the Napoleons and the Hitlers from the west. Its vast stretches of territory, to be sure, gave some form of relative protection but imposed quite a different security problem from our own. During the last world war there were many millions of casualties and immeasurable destruction.

The reason I refer to this historical difference between the two countries is that I consider it fundamental in East-West relations today. The impact on the Russian mentality of these historical experiences has its reflection in the attitudes of their leaders to questions having to do with war and peace. This is quite separate from, and yet it is intertwined with, all Soviet Communist Party ideological matters and Communist plans for world domination. The mass of the Russian population may not share the party's enthusiasms for the promotion of communism, but it is acutely and instinctively aware of conditions which relate to Russian security. Thus what faces this country of ours is a difficult combination of an intense Russian popular and patriotic desire for national security coupled with an exploitation of this understandable yearning by a comparatively small but implacable Communist Party leadership seeking to foist their brand of socialism not only on the Russian people themselves but on the world at large, including the United States.

It was at least partly this desire for security in depth which motivated the Soviet Union, in violation of its pledges to the West, to fasten on to the large area in eastern Europe which its

¹Address made before the Institute of World Affairs at New York, N.Y., on Oct. 20 (press release 738).

armies—supported by our own forces—overran at the end of World War II. The ideological or Communist motive was incidental or purely secondary. It is true that Communist doctrine teaches that, while capitalist states remain in existence, the Soviet Union as the homeland of communism can never be really secure. But party leaders are aided in promoting this doctrine among the Russian people because of the historical reasons to which I have just alluded. Otherwise it would be most difficult for the Russian people to believe, as the Soviet radio and press have so often told them, that capitalist American warmongers are poised for the attack and that our intentions are hostile and warlike. This historical conditioning has provided a readymade element of solidarity, enabling the party leadership to put over an ambitious new 7-year plan for heavy industry—and to some extent consumer goods—a huge military establishment on the land, a costly submarine fleet, an expensive intercontinental ballistic missile program, and a satellite program.

Mr. Khrushchev seems to be so enthusiastic about the potential of the satellite program that everything else, even intercontinental missiles, begins in his active imagination to be old-fashioned. This extraordinarily able Soviet leader seems determined to pull the Russian peasant right up by his bootstraps directly into outer space. Perhaps Ivan at the moment would settle for an extra suit and a pair of shoes in addition to his boots—as mentioned by Mr. Khrushchev the other day in traveling from Vladivostok—with a little better assortment of groceries for Ivan's wife. I noted one Russian comment out of Moscow by a worker who said he really did not need a TU-114, as he managed very well riding on the trolley car, but he would like some consumer goods for himself and his family and he would like them cheaper and of better quality.

Now this is very good and healthy. It provides the Soviet leadership with increasing problems. In their soaring ambition to surpass the United States, to dominate not only the world but outer space, the party leadership has neglected the daily needs of their subjects to a degree which our people could not even imagine. As the Russian people become more sophisticated and aware of the standards of living prevailing among "capitalistic slaves," their pressures on the leadership will, I believe, become unavoidable. Whatever

the political system, fundamental laws of economics apply and available man-hours can produce just so many things. I have no doubt that the Russian people want peace just as American citizens desire it. The only conflicts between the two nations are artificially created.

That is why our Government has promoted a program of exchange of persons on a reciprocal basis in the fields of science, culture, and industry. Sometimes that program is criticized for different reasons: that it is inadequate and very tardy; that we are opening our society to subversive influences and in effect doing business with the Devil; that the exchanges are unfair because of state control in the Soviet Union as compared to our open system and in view of the susceptibility of our hospitable people. It is true that, apart from the exchanges which are agreed on a reciprocal basis, there is practically no private travel by Russian citizens to the United States, whereas many thousands of American tourists are visiting the Soviet Union. But if we waited for the perfect arrangement it would probably never happen.

It is our opinion that the present agreement which is now under negotiation for renewal for an additional 2-year period is achieving mutually interesting results. It is too early to say whether the advantage is greater on one side than on the other. Perhaps in the field of the performing arts the financial advantage is on the Soviet side. Their performances, as is the case of the ballet and the folk dances, have earned far more dollars for them than the rubles earned by our performers and orchestras. Politically and psychologically I believe the program is mutually advantageous and could have profound effects favorable to peace over the longer term.

Peiping-Moscow Relationship

There is another factor of considerable interest to us in our contemplation of the international scene. It is the Peiping-Moscow relationship, a major feature of our present-day world. During Chairman Khrushchev's recent visit we gained perhaps some slight additional insight into the nature of that relationship, many features of which are obscure. It is an intriguing question as to how long a close fraternal relationship can endure. Allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, of course, and the common experience of postrevolutionary problems form a tie between the Soviet

leadership and their extreme doctrinaire counterparts in Peiping. But we may well ask ourselves if in the long run this is enough to overcome so many conflicts of a historical and social nature, conflicts of culture and custom and antipathies inherent in the makeup of the Chinese and Russian leaders and people. The Chinese Communist seizure of power is later in time than the Russian, and the spirit and immediate ambitions of the radical brand of Chinese doctrine and chauvinism perhaps do not always synchronize with the current aspirations of the Soviet leadership. This seemed apparent in Russian disapproval of Mao's [Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee and Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party] insistence on adoption of the brutal commune system, with its disregard of human values. The Soviet Union had long since discarded the theory as unworkable. The drain on Russian resources required by the vast and insatiable demands of the backward Chinese economy, its hungry millions, and Chinese ambitious expansionism undoubtedly provide food for thought in high Soviet councils. Communist China is not a satellite but a near equal, able to dream, with its potential for the future, of exercising a certain hegemony in the Eurasian land mass, not tomorrow certainly but some day.

In the past we have had reason to link Moscow and Peiping in aggressive moves in Korea and Quemoy and Matsu. No doubt Ho Chi Minh consulted the Moscow leadership as well as Peiping before the Viet Minh launched the guerrilla attacks in northern Laos. But are the Russians entirely comfortable with these Chinese adventures in aggressive warfare if they believe one of them might be the spark of a much larger conflagration? There is no doubt that publicly Mr. Khrushchev feels obliged to support Red China, no matter how outrageous its conduct might be in Tibet. I would question that privately he would be happy over the world effect of this adventure in brutality or its impact on Indian public opinion.

It is not always certain that Russian aspirations coincide with Chinese ambitions and methods. Some day this might become a most uneasy partnership. However, this day seems far in the future, and in the present in which we must operate there is little doubt but that both Moscow and Peiping regard the continuation of their close alliance as being of overriding importance. Peiping

in particular would be hard pressed to do without the critical economic and military assistance it receives from the Soviet Union. In turn this is a drain on the Soviet economy which delays the day when the Soviet people may achieve a better standard of living. As an indication of its dedication to its alliance with the U.S.S.R., the Peiping regime publicly accepts the latter's leadership over the world Communist movement.

Impact of Disarmament on U.S.-Soviet Relations

One area where better understanding between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. could have a substantial impact is that of disarmament. We are all aware of the proposal made by Chairman Khrushchev in his speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations for complete and total disarmament.² Huge armaments are usually built either for aggressive purpose or for self-defense against such purpose, real or imaginary. There is usually a desire to dominate somebody else's territory or a deep fear and suspicion of attack. Certainly the United States gave proof of our peaceful intentions after World War II by achieving almost total disarmament in this country. This imprudent though idealistic action had wide popular support. But for our pains we were exposed to the blockade of Berlin and hostilities in Korea. We discovered that the Soviet bloc had not wasted a day nor spared expense in building a vast military apparatus. Every German rocket expert they could lay their hands on was recruited in the development of a missile and satellite program, and this plus other factors put their technology in some respects ahead of ours.

It is well to remember this historical development in assessing Chairman Khrushchev's broad and sweeping proposals, which are receiving very careful study by our Government. These proposals point to the fact that disarmament measures must be undertaken in a balanced way, fair to both sides, and that they must be subject at every stage to effective international control.

But there is a further aspect to total disarmament of great importance. This is the answer to the question: If nations give up their arms, who keeps the peace? Private citizens in organized communities have given up their firearms because they have an armed police which keeps the peace. As our able Ambassador to the United Nations,

² For text, see U.N. doc. A/PV. 799.

Henry Cabot Lodge, said recently,³ "If all nations lay down their arms, there must be institutions to preserve international peace and security and promote the rule of law."

In this connection we are seeking in the United Nations to determine what type of international police force should be established to preserve international peace and security; what principles of international law should govern the use of such a force; and, finally, what internal security forces, in precise terms, would be required by nations of the world if existing armaments are abolished.

We yield to no one in our eagerness to achieve disarmament, which we know is generally desired by peoples everywhere. Our President said the other day at Abilene⁴ that no other aspiration dominates him as much as that the nations of East and West will find dependable, self-guaranteeing methods to reduce the vast and essentially wasteful expenditures for armaments. He earnestly wishes to devote at least some of the funds now spent for arms to improvement not only in our own living conditions but especially to the millions living in poverty in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

What is important is agreement with built-in safeguards, self-enforcing safeguards of inspection and control. As Ambassador Lodge has stated,⁵ in any disarmament program, whether it be 100 percent or 1 percent disarmament, adequate and timely inspection and control must be built into the system, so that both sides reduce their armaments in plain sight of each other, every step of the way. That kind of program creates confidence; anything less creates fear and suspicion and increases the danger of war. As yet we do not know what inspection and control the Soviet Union would accept on its own proposal for complete disarmament. Neither the statement of Chairman Khrushchev nor the subsequent statement of Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov enlightened us on this vital point. Your Government is leaving no stone unturned to progress toward relief from the huge armaments burden.

Other Areas of Negotiation With Soviet Union

In a related field, as you know, we have had real negotiations aimed at agreement to stop tests of

nuclear weapons.⁶ In fact these talks were first proposed by the United States. They have been in progress at Geneva since 1958. For the moment they are in recess, but later this month the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union will again take up where they left off this summer.

Then, as you also know, the United States considered with nine other powers at Geneva last November the question of safeguarding against surprise attack.⁷ While these discussions did not accomplish their intended purpose, the frank exchange of views will serve as a useful basis for future negotiations on this problem.

As you undoubtedly know, too, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union have agreed on the establishment of a 10-nation disarmament committee to resume general disarmament negotiations early next year.⁸ This step has been warmly welcomed by the 82-member Disarmament Commission of the United Nations.⁹ Finally, inside our own Government we are now conducting an intensive review of our basic disarmament policy¹⁰ in anticipation of this Committee of Ten meeting scheduled to convene early in 1960.

I have touched on the two subjects which seem to me of greatest significance to our world position today, i.e. East-West relations and disarmament. No doubt they occupy much of the thought of the membership of the Institute of World Affairs. They overshadow regional and country problems to a greater or lesser extent everywhere. They affect the basic purpose of American foreign policy, which is the promotion of the welfare and security of the American people. During the coming months I believe we shall witness a number of conferences and negotiations during the course of which it is not impossible that an improvement in East-West relations may develop. If that is true, then there is no reason to despair on the subject of disarmament. I would like to close on that note of relative, cautious optimism, convinced that these problems are not insoluble.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, May 18, 1959, pp. 700 and 704; June 8, 1959, p. 825; and Sept. 14, 1959, p. 374.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1958, p. 648; Nov. 24, 1958, p. 815; Jan. 5, 1959, p. 13; and Feb. 2, 1959, p. 163.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1959, p. 237.

⁸ BULLETIN of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 615.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 620.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 615.

Great-Power Cooperation in the United Nations

by Francis O. Wilcox

Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs¹

It is a great pleasure for me to meet with you here in this city of sunshine in order to help celebrate United Nations Day. Support for the United Nations is, as you know, fundamental to our country's approach to its international responsibilities and objectives. It is through the efforts of organizations such as the Greater Miami Association for the United Nations and the other national organizations represented here that the message of the United Nations reaches the American public. Their understanding of and their interest in the United Nations are essential. We in the Government are deeply appreciative of the splendid work your organizations are doing to help achieve this end.

The Khrushchev Visit

This year the opening of the United Nations General Assembly coincided with the visit of Chairman Khrushchev to this country,² as the first part of an exchange of visits between President Eisenhower and the Soviet leader.

The decision to invite the leader of the Communist world to the United States was made in the hope that this might promote some understanding, ease world tensions, and perhaps lay the groundwork for new and more productive efforts in the cause of peace. From the beginning

it was stressed that we could not expect that the major issues between the Soviet Union and ourselves would thereby be resolved.

There is no need for me to rehearse the chronology of Mr. Khrushchev's visit, in which he traveled the length of the land, inspecting our industry, conferring with our leaders, and judging at first hand the temper of our people. It was a full 2 weeks for all of us, and particularly for those like Ambassador Lodge who accompanied the tireless Soviet leader on his tour.

Now that he has come and gone it may be useful to assess the effect of his visit, to estimate its advantages and disadvantages from the standpoint of the aims of our foreign policy in the promotion of world peace.

One thing is quite clear. We would all agree that Mr. Khrushchev might not deserve a very good mark in a course in American history. But it has been a helpful and sobering experience for all of us to see, at first hand, this shrewd and redoubtable opponent in action.

Obviously one immediate gain, which flowed from the talks at Camp David between President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev, was the agreement that the negotiations on Germany and Berlin should not and must not be conducted under a threat or ultimatum. The implied Soviet threat to Berlin, it appears, has largely been removed, and negotiations on Germany and Berlin can be resumed, provided our allies agree.

I believe the visit of Mr. Khrushchev was fruitful in other ways which are less clear but in the long run may be no less important. No one can measure exactly the effect upon the Soviet leader of seeing the great industrial and agricultural potential of the United States, of viewing at first

¹ Address made before the Greater Miami Association for the United Nations at Miami Beach, Fla., on Oct. 18 (press release 732).

² Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., visited the United States Sept. 15-27. For statements made at the time of his arrival, see BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 476; for text of the communique released following his talks with President Eisenhower at Camp David, see *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

hand how our people really live, their support of our form of government, and their keen desire for peace. No one can calculate the effects of those experiences upon a man trained in a doctrine alien to ours and conditioned to think of us in the distorted terms of Soviet propaganda.

Moreover some statements of Chairman Khrushchev appear to reflect a new understanding of this country. He has told the Soviet people that President Eisenhower earnestly desires peace and that this Government has the support of the great majority of the American people. Moreover he did not talk about burying us; instead he urged us to keep our system and let him keep his. He even declared that "the slaves of capitalism live very well," and both here and in the Soviet Union he praised the accomplishments of American industry and agriculture.

Let us not underestimate the effect of these statements upon a people which for years has heard from their leadership little but odious comparisons and misrepresentations concerning the United States. In this regard the fact that the Soviet Government has, even if temporarily, reduced its jamming of the Voice of America in the Soviet Union is a welcome development.

I believe that what Mr. Khrushchev has learned about the United States during his visit here may have lessened the danger that he will misjudge the deep attachment which we have to our way of life. In this nuclear age there is grave peril in the possibility that one side will misinterpret the will of the other to defend itself or its interests, that it will miscalculate the reactions of the other side and take steps that might lead to an armed conflict. The danger of such a miscalculation is real, and the effects could be disastrous for all of us.

I believe that our deep resolve to defend our liberty and to honor our international commitments was brought home to Mr. Khrushchev in a direct way and that he is less likely to make a fatal mistake in the direction of Soviet policy. However, we cannot expect a broad understanding of this kind to come about quickly. It can only proceed from sustained contact at all levels. It could never, however, be achieved by the system of quarantine in which we previously found ourselves.

We are hopeful that a very modest beginning has been made. We are left with the practical question as to how far this beginning will lead us. Another of the hopeful signs, therefore, to emerge from Mr. Khrushchev's visit is the prospect of renewed

discussions and negotiations at various levels on such issues as Berlin, disarmament, trade, cultural exchange, and the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The conduct of negotiations seems less likely to be interrupted by major violence than would be an armed truce of silence.

In any event it appears that we have gained the opportunity for further discussions of outstanding differences. What results, if any, these discussions will bring, I cannot say. If the Soviets are sincere in their desire to relax tensions, as they claim, we will present them every opportunity for doing so, as we have in the past. However, we must see deeds on their part—not just words—before we can realistically assess whether Mr. Khrushchev has simply been seeking to lull us into a false sense of tranquillity, knowing how much we welcome better relations with the Soviet Union, or whether he truly means to improve the international atmosphere by meaningful agreements to ease and eliminate present troublesome problems.

Of one thing, however, we can be sure. Mr. Khrushchev sincerely believes in his system. He is dedicated to the goal of surpassing the United States. His view is that our system and communism remain essentially competitive. We certainly cannot let down our guard as the result of a 2-week trip. We must never forget that Communist doctrine still has world domination as its goal. But we will continue to seek agreements with the Soviet Union which will reduce present tensions while maintaining free-world security.

Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

There is one further point that may be very important. Recently Mr. Khrushchev has made statements subscribing to the thesis that threats and force should not be used to settle differences between nations. This point was highlighted in the joint communique at Camp David, in which President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev agreed that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiations."

While such statements have been made before, this recent expression could be a significant development. But just as interesting perhaps are the speeches Mr. Khrushchev made during the 10th anniversary celebration of the Chinese Communist regime. In three major addresses he counseled against the use of force, repeating many of the

peace and disarmament themes he had used in this country.

Is it possible that the Chinese Communists will accept Mr. Khrushchev's sound advice? If their recent record of aggressive acts—including Tibet, Taiwan, and the Indian border areas—is any indication, we cannot afford to be very optimistic on this score. We can continue to hope, however, inasmuch as the Communist Chinese have recognized Mr. Khrushchev as the leader of the international Communist movement, that they will eventually accept the principle that differences should be settled by negotiation and not by force—a principle to which Mr. Khrushchev has publicly subscribed.

The U.S.S.R. and the U.N.

With this background in mind I would like to turn to some of the problems now pending before the United Nations. The rollcall of important political issues is an impressive one—disarmament, outer space, Tibet, Hungary, Laos, the U.N. Emergency Force—to mention only a few. It occurs to me that the Soviet Union has a very good opportunity to demonstrate, in connection with many of these issues, that it is really interested in working for world peace.

Fourteen years ago the U.N. was created with the hope that the great powers would work together to win the peace as they had cooperated to win the war. But the cold war soon set in, and the cleavage between the Communist and the free world became wider and deeper. At that time our people believed that a strong United Nations, buttressed by great-power cooperation, constituted the best possible guarantee for world peace. We still believe so. And we have done what we could over the years to strengthen the United Nations in its eternal quest for peace.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union, prompted by motives of its own, moved in the opposite direction. They apparently did not want a strong United Nations. As a part of their goal of winning the world to communism, they decided that a weak world organization would serve their interest better. Their membership was obviously a marriage of convenience.

So far as the United States is concerned, we would welcome genuine Soviet support for the United Nations Charter. I hasten to add that we should not expect any miracles in New York

as a result of Mr. Khrushchev's visit. Even so, there are a number of things the Soviets could do to ease tensions and to make the United Nations a more effective instrumentality for peace if they chose to do so.

The Problem of Disarmament

In the first place they could accept a workable system of international inspection and controls and thus make possible a break in the disarmament deadlock. Disarmament is without doubt the most important single problem facing the world today. And time after time during these last 14 years our discussions have bogged down largely over the kind of inspection system that would be both practical and effective.

So far as the United States is concerned, we remain ready and willing to negotiate effective disarmament agreements. We are quite prepared to permit Soviet representatives to participate in inspection arrangements in our territory. We do not fear their presence. In the circumstances envisaged, we would have nothing to hide.

But we do not believe in mere paper promises. When a nation moves toward disarmament, this is such a vital and important step that both sides are entitled to guarantees that the agreements entered into are not going to be violated.

An Irishman once defined salt as "a white substance that makes potatoes taste bad when you don't put any in." By the same token an adequate system of inspection and control is an absolutely indispensable element in any disarmament recipe.

When Mr. Khrushchev spoke before the General Assembly a few weeks ago, he called for what he termed "general and complete disarmament."³ By this he apparently meant the elimination of all armaments and all armed forces by all governments, except for those arms and forces needed to maintain internal order. To reach this goal he set forth various phases of a disarmament program which, over a period of 4 years, would result in his final objective—complete disarmament. This, in substance, was what Mr. Khrushchev had in mind and what he characterized as a radical new approach to this vital problem.

I would not want to detract from the importance of Mr. Khrushchev's statement, which even now is being given very careful study. It is only fair to

³ For text, see U.N. doc. A/PV. 799.

point out, however, that we and our allies have frequently offered comprehensive disarmament proposals to the Soviet Union in the past, including various phases for their implementation. Unfortunately, up to now at least, agreement with the Soviet Union has not been forthcoming.

In this connection I would like to make one point quite clear. The United States is willing to go as far as other nations will go toward complete disarmament, provided such disarmament is accompanied by a satisfactory system of controls.

Apart from the question of controls, Mr. Khrushchev's proposal for complete disarmament raises several important and complex problems. What armed forces will it be necessary for each state to retain so that internal order can be maintained? Presumably the answer to that question would involve a variety of considerations, including the size, geographical location, and terrain of the country, the size and character of the population, and the degree of political and economic stability it has developed.

Just as important is the essential link between complete disarmament and an international police force strong enough to keep the peace. Sovereign states will not be willing to put their guns on the table unless they can find security from external attack from other sources. True, from a purely humane point of view, it would be a great step forward if we could avoid the mass destruction of civilian populations. But disarmed nations could still fight with bows and arrows or even cornstalks, and probably would do so unless they are restrained by the presence of an international police force.

In presenting his proposal to the United Nations Mr. Khrushchev predicated it on the fact that the distrust which has developed among the nations has resulted in increases in armaments; these in turn develop international tensions. Now the solution he offered was to eliminate armaments and thereby eliminate world tensions. One might ask whether it would be more logical to approach the question of disarmament by first examining the problem of developing a feeling of trust among the nations of the world.

This is a riddle which is almost as difficult as the riddle of the hen and the egg. I do not pretend to have the answer. But I am convinced that, if we could reach agreement on some disarmament controls, this might help develop the

necessary confidence and trust to enable us to move forward.

Meanwhile, we have made some progress in two important respects.

First of all, the talks relating to the cessation of nuclear weapons tests will be resumed in Geneva on October 27. It is our hope that we can reach agreement with the Soviet Union on the inspection and control system necessary to insure that violations of the treaty would be detected. If that can be done, we can move ahead with a treaty on the cessation of nuclear tests and thus give real impetus to further progress in the field of disarmament.

Secondly, we recently reached agreement on a new forum for disarmament negotiation. A new committee has been established outside the United Nations consisting of five representatives from the Western states and five Soviet bloc members.⁴ This group will begin its discussions in Geneva early next year.

All of you know how persistently we have tried to engage in fruitful disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union in the United Nations. These efforts have not been successful. We have decided that we cannot and must not allow a matter as basic to the survival of our civilization as our disarmament efforts are to collapse because of procedural difficulties.

On the assumption that no stone should be left unturned which might bring some progress, we agreed to the creation of this new committee. There is not the slightest intention on our part to bypass the United Nations. We recognize fully that ultimate responsibility for disarmament continues to rest with the United Nations. And we sincerely hope that results achieved by the new committee will provide a useful basis for the renewed consideration of disarmament in that Organization.⁵

Outer Space

A second area where the Soviet Union could use its influence to lessen world tensions and strengthen the United Nations lies in the realm of outer space.

⁴ For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

⁵ For a statement on the question of disarmament made by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in Committee I on Oct. 14, see *ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1959, p. 615.

The United States has called for an international approach to this important question. We were the prime movers back of the establishment of a United Nations Committee on Outer Space.⁶ We sought to have the United Nations take the lead in cooperative international efforts. Surely a United Nations program in the peaceful uses of outer space, in which many members, small and large, participate, can help insure that national rivalries will not be projected into the universe which surrounds us.

But the Soviet response has been to boycott the United Nations committee—a committee which they insist be made up of states half on their side and half on the free-world side. We reject this undesirable concept of parity, as did the General Assembly last year. Such U.N. committees, we feel strongly, should reasonably reflect the makeup of the General Assembly of 82 members. The world is made up of many nations; it is diverse, and it is this diversity which characterizes the United Nations.

There is no questioning the fact that the Soviets, in view of recent accomplishments in penetrating outer space, could make a very helpful contribution to the work of the United Nations. Clearly they cannot argue a lack of technology, as they did some years ago when they refused to cooperate in the development of atomic energy.

Recently Mr. [V. V.] Kuznetsov, head of the Soviet delegation, proposed a United Nations conference to exchange experience in the exploration of outer space. We welcome this proposal.⁷ If this indicates an interest on the part of the Soviet Union to participate in the future in the United Nations efforts to further cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space, this could be a change for the better. International conferences under U.N. auspices which provide an opportunity to exchange experience in the exploration of outer space are illustrative of the many useful things which might be achieved through cooperative action. Our own scientists have shown considerable interest in such conferences, since they and the

United States Government agree that a maximum exchange of data is necessary if mankind is to benefit fully from the results of exploration of outer space.

For our part we will continue to give our solid support to the United Nations and the work of the Outer Space Committee in this field. We hope the Soviets grasp the opportunity this Assembly affords them to do the same.

Laos

The situation in Laos is still another example where the Soviet attitude could be helpful in easing tensions. During the recent past it has been clear that the Communist bloc has taken actions designed to undermine the freedom and independence of Laos. There has been active support of Communist rebel forces within Laos from Communist north Viet-Nam. There has been Communist propaganda emanating simultaneously from Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow aimed at confusing world opinion. And the fact that the military outbreak in Laos last August followed conferences in Moscow and Peiping between Soviet, Chinese Communist, and Viet Minh leaders is added evidence of the Soviet activity in this matter.

In these circumstances, with its freedom and independence threatened, Laos appealed to the United Nations for help. The Security Council subcommittee of Argentina, Italy, Japan, and Tunisia has been in Laos for the past month looking into the facts.⁸ Its presence there has had a quieting effect—at least for the moment—on Laos. For the time being, fighting has abated, and the immediate threat to Laotian independence has been reduced.

The Soviets vigorously opposed the United Nations' taking any action with respect to Laos. Their solution was the reconvening of an international control commission whose mission the Lao Government regarded as having been fulfilled. The Soviets have also sought to divert effective United Nations action by calling for a conference.⁹ The Lao Government rejected this idea, preferring instead to appeal to the United Nations, where justice could be assured.

Laos, like every free nation, seeks to control its own destiny. Since the United Nations has already taken appropriate action, there is no need

⁶ For background and text of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly on Dec. 13, 1958, see *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1959, p. 24. For U.S. statements made in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, see *ibid.*, June 15, 1959, p. 883; June 29, 1959, p. 972; and July 27, 1959, p. 138.

⁷ For a statement by Ambassador Lodge, see *ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1959, p. 651.

⁸ For background, see *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

⁹ For a Department statement on U.S. rejection of the Soviet proposal, see *ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1959, p. 475.

for a conference which would be disruptive and which would ignore the authority of the United Nations.

The presence of the Security Council subcommittee has been a short-range measure. Now we await the report of that group with considerable interest. Once the report is available, the United Nations will want to consider what further measures it should take to assure a continuation of its tranquilizing influence in Laos. We hope the Soviet Union will cooperate in the United Nations to help maintain the peace there.

Tibet

The Soviet Union could also be helpful, if it would, in connection with the Tibetan situation which is now before the United Nations. Every civilized person has been shocked by the terrible atrocities committed against the Tibetan people. As you know, the Dalai Lama, forced to flee his country, has appealed to the United Nations to consider the tragedy of his people. He told the tragic story of Chinese Communist persecution, forced labor, deportations, and executions, willfully and wantonly carried to such an extent as to threaten the very survival of the Tibetan people. The International Commission of Jurists, a reputable group of international lawyers, has presented a preliminary report showing that the Chinese Communists committed acts violating the Genocide Convention of 1948.

We welcomed the fact that Ireland and Malaya requested discussion of the Tibetan question and that the General Assembly decided to consider this grave issue. Admittedly it is difficult for the United Nations to render direct help to the oppressed people of this far-off and inaccessible corner of the world. It is our hope, nevertheless, that an airing of the Tibetan case before the General Assembly will bring the full weight of public opinion to bear on this flagrant violation of fundamental human rights.

And what has been the Soviet response to the denial of human rights of the Tibetan people? Mr. Kuznetsov's response was a harsh and bitter accusation against the United States that we were launching a campaign to impede better relations between states and to poison the atmosphere in the United Nations.

In brief Mr. Kuznetsov's argument amounts to this: We must ignore the crimes committed in Tibet or else be accused of promoting the cold war.

Or, to put it another way, whenever we raise important issues the Soviet Union does not like, we are accused of engaging in cold-war tactics. Is it those who seek to have the United Nations discuss such crimes that promote the cold war? Or is it those who commit and condone such crimes that are responsible?

If the United Nations were to turn its face away from the gross denial of human rights in Tibet, it would be ignoring one of its fundamental responsibilities under the charter.

For its part, the United States will support the charter of the United Nations. We cannot stand idly by while the Communists try to destroy the Tibetan race, its religion, and its culture. We hope that world opinion as expressed in the Assembly will help in some appropriate way to keep alive the courageous efforts of the Tibetan people to maintain their way of life.

Hungary

When one speaks of Tibet, one cannot help but recall Hungary.

This Assembly is expected once again to consider the situation in that unhappy country. Its consideration will remind people everywhere of the world community's continuing concern over Soviet actions there and its maintenance by force of a puppet regime.

This regime has thus far consistently refused to permit the United Nations Special Representative for Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, to enter the country to investigate the Hungarian situation firsthand. Sir Leslie is expected to report on his recent efforts during this General Assembly.

The continued, deliberate defiance by Hungary of the United Nations augurs ill for our continuing efforts to achieve international peace and security.

UNEF

Soviet support of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East would be yet another way to improve relations in the world.

You will recall that this force of over 5,000 soldiers from 7 countries patrols the armistice demarcation lines between the United Arab Republic and Israel. Since 1956 it has supervised the cessation of hostilities over the Suez Canal. It is a remarkable demonstration of international cooperation to keep the peace.

The United Nations members are assessed for

its expenses. The Soviet Union, I regret to say, in contradiction to its often repeated desire for the maintenance of peace in the Middle East, has steadfastly refused to pay its share. Just a few days after Mr. Khrushchev left this country, the Soviet Union clearly reemphasized its rigid position in these words:

The Soviet Union has not contributed a single kopeck for the maintenance of the Emergency Force . . . and is not going to make any expenditure for these ends in the future.

As a result, very serious financial difficulties are posed for the Emergency Force and for the United Nations itself. For its part, the United States will continue to support UNEF because we firmly believe it continues to remain a major bulwark of peace in the Middle East. Its splendid record has also strengthened our conviction that it would be desirable for the United Nations to take early steps to provide standby arrangements for a peace force ready to serve immediately in any part of the world.

Economic and Social Work

Before concluding may I say just a few words about the economic and social work of the United Nations. Obviously the most important task of the United Nations is to do what it can to prevent nuclear war. But peace, if it is to be an enduring peace, means far more than the mere absence of conflict. It means positive cooperation in the economic and social fields so that the basic causes of war will ultimately disappear.

That is why I attach so much importance to the economic and social activity of the United Nations. That is why we support to the hilt the work of the specialized agencies in their persistent fight against hunger, disease, poverty, and ignorance.

You know the story well. Today, in the underdeveloped areas of the world, well over a billion people are striving to establish or maintain ways of life which successfully combine economic progress with human liberty. In many countries the average per capita annual income is less than \$100. If these nations are to retain their independence and to improve their standards of life, they need help and they need it badly.

Here again the Soviet Union has a genuine opportunity for helpful action within the framework of the United Nations. By adopting a more constructive approach and by increasing its contribu-

tions to various United Nations programs, it could help enormously in expanding the economic and social work of that Organization.

In this connection let me recall the terrible cost of world armament expenditures and the great opportunity for economic and social progress if this burden could be lifted from our shoulders. During the next decade the nations of the world may well spend in excess of \$1,000 billion on armaments. What could we not accomplish if some of these expenditures could be used for more constructive purposes?

On our part we have told the world that, when sufficient progress has been made toward controlled disarmament, our Government stands ready to ask its people to join with others in devoting a good portion of the savings from such disarmament to a multilateral development fund. Somehow the nations of the world must find a way to divert their expenditures from arms to economic and social development—their own and that of their less developed neighbors.

Concluding Comments

Time alone can tell whether Mr. Khrushchev's visit will have a constructive impact on world events.

In any event the United Nations offers, at the moment, one possible proving ground of Soviet intentions. There are many steps the Soviets could take, if they chose to do so, to help relax tensions and make the United Nations a more effective mechanism for peace.

They could stop their abuse of the veto in the Security Council. They could support the creation of a United Nations peace force. They could take part in United Nations programs for the peaceful uses of outer space. They could approve an effective system of inspection and control for disarmament. They could abide by the resolutions passed by the United Nations on Hungary.

This, I admit, is a large order, and it would be foolish to assume that the Soviet Union is likely to move very far in this direction in the near future.

But the facts also show that it is not impossible to find important areas of agreement with the Soviet Union. Three examples will suffice to make my point. In 1955, after 10 long years of frustrating negotiations, they finally agreed to the Austrian state treaty. In 1957, after considerable opposition, they signed the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Finally, in

1958, after extremely difficult negotiations, we succeeded in concluding with them an exchange agreement.

No one can doubt that the task ahead of us will be a long and tedious one. It will call for many years of determined effort and sustained sacrifice on the part of the free peoples everywhere.

In our negotiations with Soviet officials we should always remember that they are not an impatient people. They are never in a hurry to get away from an international conference. They believe that history is on their side. And they are content to bide their time, constantly testing and probing for soft spots.

On our part, therefore, we must develop an infinite amount of patience. Moreover, if we are to meet the Communist challenge, we must have at least as much firmness, persistence, and determination as the Soviets. If we will pursue this course, Soviet leaders, encouraged by world opinion, may come to realize that it is in their own national interest to relax tensions and to come to further agreement with free-world nations.

Meanwhile some people have been disturbed because Mr. Khrushchev has challenged us to compete with the Soviet Union in the production of worldly goods. I cannot understand why we in the United States need fear such competition. After all, competition is the lifeblood of the free-enterprise system.

Nor should we be alarmed because the Russians want to eat filets mignons and drive convertibles. There is plenty on this planet for everybody if we can only learn to live together as reasonable men should.

I think it is a mistake, however, to imply that in such competition one system will triumph over the other and destroy it. The fact is that there are not just two systems in the world; there are many systems. What we are striving for is the kind of freedom and independence in the world that will permit each nation to work out its own system in accordance with its own needs and its own desires.

Although I am not afraid of friendly competition, in the long run it is only international cooperation that can save mankind from destroying himself. At San Francisco in 1945 it was emphasized time and time again that the United Nations, supported by the teamwork of the great powers, constituted the best possible guarantee for peace. This great concept still embodies, in my opinion, man's best hope for a better world.

Commemoration of Anniversary of Hungarian Revolution

Department Statement

Press release 743 dated October 22

Three years ago, on October 23, 1956, the Hungarian people rose in a spontaneous and valiant effort to achieve their longstanding aspirations for a government which would be free from foreign domination and responsive to their will. This effort failed in the face of ruthless Soviet military intervention. Since then the Hungarian and Soviet Governments have continually defied world opinion by refusing to comply with the terms of resolutions on Hungary adopted by overwhelming majorities in the United Nations General Assembly. The American people, like all others throughout the world who are dedicated to the cause of liberty and national integrity, will today remember and honor the Hungarian patriots who died in this struggle and those who, today, must live under a system which has been imposed upon them. It is due to their bravery that October 23 shall live in history as the symbol of a people's sacrifice in the cause of independence and freedom.

B-29 Case Removed From Calendar of International Court of Justice

Department Statement

Press release 748 dated October 23

It has been learned by the Department of State that on October 10, 1959, the International Court of Justice ordered removed from the calendar of the Court the case brought by the United States against the Soviet Government on account of the destruction of a B-29 aircraft over Hokkaido, Japan, on November 7, 1954, in the course of which one crew member was killed. The facts have been stated in prior Department press releases (No. 631, November 8, 1954,¹ No. 313, May 23, 1957,² and No. 491, July 7, 1959³).

¹ For text, together with texts of a U.S. note of Nov. 17, 1954, and a Soviet note of Nov. 7, 1954, see BULLETIN of Nov. 29, 1954, p. 811.

² For text, see *ibid.*, July 8, 1957, p. 68.

³ For text, together with text of U.S. application to the International Court of Justice, see *ibid.*, July 27, 1959, p. 122.

The United States had been informed on September 3, 1959, that the Soviet Embassy in the Netherlands had informed the Court that the Soviet Government claimed that the B-29 in question had violated the Soviet border and that the B-29 was the first to fire in the encounter. For these reasons, the Soviet Government stated,

... the Government of the U.S.S.R. considers as before that in this case there are no questions which are in need to be solved by the International Court of Justice and does not see bases for the filing of this case with the Court.

The foregoing allegations of the Soviet Government are not accurate. The United States B-29 never shot at the Soviet plane; it did not cross the Soviet border but was shot down over Japanese territory by Soviet planes which intruded into Japanese air space to do this. The U.S. Government was, and is, prepared to prove by evidence the truth of these statements.

The United States regrets again that the Soviet Government continues to disregard the organ of the United Nations set up for the solution of disputes between governments as to facts or issues of law in international matters by the institutions of law and order. It cannot admit the propriety or the wisdom, therefore, of any policy which keeps the Court from hearing the disputes as to facts and law in matters as important as the one involved in this case.

In the Soviet Government's response to the Court, to which reference has been made, the Soviet Government also stated that the United States had ignored warnings by the Soviet Government that the United States air forces should not direct planes "toward the state borders of the U.S.S.R. and violate these borders." The alleged violation, of course, has been denied, and the Soviet Government refused to permit proof on this subject on either side to be placed before an impartial tribunal.

U.S. and U.S.S.R. Show First Films Under Exchange Agreement

Press release 741 dated October 21

The Department of State announced on October 21 that premieres of the first American and Soviet films to be shown under the U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. exchange agreement will take place at Moscow and Washington, D.C., on November 10, 1959.

November 9, 1959

American film stars Gary Cooper and Edward G. Robinson will attend the premiere in Moscow of the United Artists film "Marty." The producer of the film, Harold Hecht, and the film's director, Delbert Mann, will also be present.

Simultaneously a group of motion-picture personalities from the Soviet Union will come to Washington for the premiere on the same evening at the Metropolitan Theatre of the Soviet feature film "The Cranes Are Flying."

These two premieres will mark the inauguration of the showing of theatrical films under the terms of the cultural, technical, and educational agreement signed between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at Washington on January 27, 1958.¹ A number of Soviet and American Government officials are expected to attend the premieres.

Commenting on the exchange, Secretary Herter said:

Our Government is pleased by the response of the American motion-picture industry in supporting the efforts to improve the climate of understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States. The American film at its best has always demonstrated its capacity to reach across boundaries of culture, tradition, and language and by so doing has helped to break down mistrusts and misunderstanding and thereby bring about a greater understanding among nations. The United States has always believed in and practiced the doctrine of free and full international communications. We therefore especially welcome the carrying out of this part of the film agreement, which makes it possible for American films to be shown in the Soviet Union on a regular basis.

Three of the leading officials of United Artists also will attend the Moscow premiere. They are Arthur B. Krim, president, United Artists, Robert S. Benjamin, chairman of the board, and Arnold M. Picker, vice president in charge of foreign distribution. The Hollywood personalities attending the premiere will arrive in Moscow on November 9 and remain approximately 1 week.

"Marty," which was one of 10 U.S. films purchased by the Soviet Union from the American film industry under the cultural agreement, will be the first American film shown in the U.S.S.R. in approximately 15 years.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 17, 1958, p. 243; for text of a memorandum of agreement on film exchanges, see *ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1958, p. 697.

Food for Peace

by Don Paarlberg
Special Assistant to the President¹

It is a pleasure to present the first of a series of five discussions on the international age in agriculture. The subject of this series seems to me particularly appropriate in scope and timing.

My purpose in these remarks is to supply the basic logic which underlies agriculture's venture into the international age, a venture already well advanced and, on balance, rather successful. I shall attempt to state the case for our special export programs and for the export of American agricultural technology. It is my feeling that a good job has been done. While more might be done and some things perhaps better done, it is important to see the rightness of the direction that has been taken. I am more interested in putting a positive and confident face on agriculture's venture into the international age than in attempting to rechart its course.

It would be easy to prepare a paper painting in rosy hue the great attainments which agriculture might achieve in its international venture. It would also be easy to develop a paper which holds up to ridicule some of our unorthodox international activities. The difficult task, and the one I have undertaken, is to show the opportunities without being carried away thereby and to show the hazards without constructing a rationale for inaction.

In his special message to Congress on agriculture last January,² the President of the United States had in mind matters similar to those under review in this program. He said,

I am setting steps in motion to explore anew with other surplus-producing nations all practical means of utilizing the various agricultural surpluses of each in the interest

¹ Address made at the graduate school of the U.S. Department of Agriculture at Washington, D.C., on Oct. 7 (White House press release dated Oct. 8).

² H. Doc. 59, 86th Cong., 1st sess.

of reinforcing peace and the well-being of friendly peoples throughout the world—in short, using food for peace.

Thus the President expressed his interest in the subject matter before us.

Our generation, in the mid-20th century, is witness to a conjunction of great, historic events:

First, we see the reawakening of the underdeveloped nations after many centuries of slumber.

Second, we see efforts by both the East and the West to assist these countries in economic advancement.

Third, we see a breakthrough in agricultural technology.

I shall elaborate briefly on each of these.

Reawakening of Underdeveloped Nations

First, the reawakening:

In Asia, in the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America, many peoples are making the exciting discovery that life can mean more for their children than it has meant for them. Thanks to modern travel and communication, the people of many nations are learning that poverty, hunger, and misery are not the universal lot of mankind nor a burden that they need permanently to bear. Awareness has been increased; aspirations have been raised; hopes have been kindled; promises have been made. This is an outstanding fact of the 20th century. It is a new dimension in our dealings with these people from this time forward.

East-West Rivalry

Our second overriding historic event at this mid-century point is the great issue between the East and the West. This is a complication of incalculable significance.

Not simply do the people in the less developed countries aspire to economic advancement; also

there is intense and growing rivalry between the free world and the Communist bloc in assisting these people to attain the goals to which they aspire and, in the case of the Communist effort, some additional goals to which the people do not aspire. This rivalry springs from the fact that many governments in the less developed parts of the world, in their pursuit of economic betterment, hesitate between the free and the authoritarian route.

Approximately one-third of the people of the world are presently in the Sino-Soviet bloc. Clearly these people are committed, by their governments if not by their own wills, to authoritarian principles in charting their course to better economic and political life.

Approximately one-third of the earth's people are of the free world. Clearly these millions are presently committed to reliance upon representative government and the enterprise system in reaching for a brighter future.

The remaining third are in varying degree uncommitted in the East-West struggle. Their decision may in time to come determine the balance of power. The strategic importance, not to mention the humanistic implications, of the ideological struggle for the minds of these uncommitted people is clearly seen by the two great contestants. Rivalry between East and West during most of the past decade has been direct, firsthand, and on occasion violent. In recent years this rivalry has shifted into a new area, in the direction of the less developed countries. Most people would agree that this form of rivalry is superior to an arms race. But let us not be deluded. It is a more subtle, softer, longer range but no less meaningful contest. This shift of technique and of emphasis in the world struggle is of profound significance from every point of view: philosophical, military, political, economic, and, indeed, spiritual.

Agricultural Breakthrough

Third, I will briefly comment on the agricultural breakthrough:

The breathtaking changes in agricultural technology of the recent past deserve to be characterized by a term seldom used in scientific circles—one reserved, in fact, for only the most far-reaching and significant developments—a major breakthrough. The realization of this monu-

mental change is gradually making itself felt in scientific circles, among practical farmers, and among government officials.

Forty years ago it took 106 man-hours to grow and harvest 100 bushels of wheat. In recent years it has taken not 106 man-hours but only 22. During this period the yield of wheat has doubled. For other crops similar dramatic changes have occurred.

As recently as a decade ago the country was concerned about its ability to supply the food needs of our rapidly growing population. These were the days of the so-called "fifth plate." Today we're not worrying about filling the "fifth plate"; we're hunting instead for a "sixth customer."

Traditional Viewpoint "Problem-Prone"

It is considered by many people that the reawakening of the underdeveloped countries, the international rivalry to assist them, and the agricultural breakthrough are all major problems.

Many people have dwelt upon problems created by the growing aspirations and expectations, and indeed the actual achievements, of the developing countries. New areas have come into production to rival our export trade. Economic advancement has carried with it political and social upheavals which have disturbed relationships among the great powers. Twenty-two new countries have come into being since World War II. There are new faces at the conference table; there are new power blocs with which to deal.

Helping these developing nations is unquestionably a problem. It has imposed considerable cost upon the American people. Rivalry with the Soviet Union in helping these nations is viewed by some as simply an additional cost. Technical assistance, economic support, loans for economic development, gifts and grants add to a considerable sum, variously characterized, depending on the attitude, as "giveaway," "foreign aid," or "mutual security." The great food needs of these people, as measured in physical or nutritional terms, are in the orthodox economic sense not needs at all since they lack the means with which to buy. Yet reality demands the meeting of at least a part of these needs.

The breakthrough in agricultural technology, the third of the current great events, has likewise been treated primarily as an unresolved and most vexing problem. Indeed anyone who has had

responsibility for dealing with its consequences finds it hard to consider the breakthrough in any other light. The growing stocks of surplus crops, the downward impact upon prices, the mounting costs of farm programs, the painful adjustments required of our farm people, and the bitter legislative battles which both result from and cause or perpetuate these maladjustments—these are clear enough to any observer.

Thus anyone approaching these great historical events in a conventional manner finds in them many grave and difficult problems. Looking at them separately and from a traditional point of view leaves one bleak and baffled. This arises from the inclination to be problem-prone rather than opportunity-oriented.

Opportunities in Food Potential

What we need to do is to view these historic events not from a conventional attitude but with a fresh look. We need to see them not separately but in relationship to one another.

Thus seen, the breakthrough in agricultural technology gives us the opportunity to help the developing nations to help themselves, to help build a political, economic, and social structure suited to their aspirations and oriented toward freedom, therewith to strengthen the free world in its struggle with the forces of totalitarianism.

Among the various areas of our rivalry with the Soviet Union there is no economic sector in which our advantage is as clear cut as in agriculture. This is true despite recent Soviet advances in this field. The American farm worker outproduces the farm worker of the Soviet Union by a ratio of about four to one. The status of our agricultural science in most respects is superior to theirs. Our system of agricultural education at all levels is the world's best. Our system of family farming has demonstrated its superiority over the authoritarian system. Our farmers are more skilled, our farms are better equipped, our resources of soil and climate more bountiful than those of the Soviet Union. And, perhaps most important of all, private ownership and freedom of decision give our farmers a tremendous advantage that does not exist among the agricultural workers of the Soviet Union.

In any form of rivalry it is a good principle to join the issue, if one can, where one's relative strength is the greatest. There is no other area

for which our relative strength so greatly exceeds that of the Soviet Union as in the field of agriculture. There is the opportunity to make this sector, rather than some other, a major testing ground in our rivalry, and it is clearly in our interest to do so.

What is this opportunity to utilize, in our rivalry with the Soviet Union, the comparative advantage that we have in the agricultural field? The opportunity is great indeed, and we have gone a long way toward fulfilling it. The people of the developing countries are primarily agricultural. Perhaps 85 percent of the people live on farms or in agricultural villages. Their greatest needs and their greatest understanding are in farming. There is a kinship among farm people throughout the world. There is no better medium by which we can communicate with these people than through the thing they know best: agriculture. They need the fruits of our agricultural sciences; they need what we have learned about agricultural education; they need the food and fiber which fill our warehouses and which our farms are capable of producing in large volume. The beginning of industrialization, also needed, is agricultural improvement, which releases people from food production to nonfarm jobs. We can and do associate our abundant agricultural capacity with their very great needs.

There are opportunities, not just problems, in our food potential.

Reorientating U.S. Farm Policies to Foreign Policy

What I am describing is a matching of our abundant agricultural capacity and knowledge with the great needs of the developing countries. I am trying to describe this operation in its broadest terms, and it should be so considered.

There are some who view the food needs of the developing parts of the world simply as a safety valve to permit the continuation of unsound price-support legislation in the United States. What I am suggesting is something far different: the conscious reorientation of our farm policies with respect to the needs and opportunities of our foreign policy.

This is not a new thought. I claim no originality for it. It has already been partly put into effect. What I am really doing is to provide the logical basis for a recasting of attitudes toward the opportunities which confront us.

Most in need of recasting are the price-support laws. Legislation originally drafted to overcome a recession, retained to fight a war, and grudgingly but insufficiently modified to accommodate a scientific revolution is unlikely to be appropriate to the international age in agriculture. We do not need an export program to bail out our unwise price-support laws; we need farm programs that accommodate the present needs of our farm people, that recognize the breakthrough in agricultural technology, and that enable us to meet the worldwide opportunities presented by the great events that I have described. We have a workable agricultural export law; we need more appropriate domestic programs.

We should cease to hinder the emergence of a rational production pattern. We should cut farm program costs. The public probably will support a reasonable farm export program which fits well into our capacity for abundant production and fits well into our foreign policy; it is not clear that the public will continue to support a price-support program which grows even more costly and seems to fit very little that is rational. There is no need, with the present high level of agricultural output, to use price supports at inducement levels, thereby further stimulating production.

Production controls, on the basis of experience, seem unable to choke off the abundant flow of American farm products. The total cost of purchasing nonproduction, through various programs which have that intent, is a heavy cost indeed. It may well be comparable in cost, bushel for bushel, with the cost of exporting farm products under programs which yield no return whatever.

In other words, it may cost approximately as much to prevent the production of a bushel of wheat as it does to grow the bushel and move it abroad even if no payment is received. Costs are hard to determine accurately, but evidence points in this direction.

Merits of Public Law 480

Many good people have a wary attitude toward farm legislation designed to move increased amounts of American farm products overseas. This is because most such proposals in the past have involved some kind of dumping scheme or some threat to the international price structure. This wariness originally was reflected in a skeptical attitude toward Public Law 480, the chief leg-

islative machinery for surplus disposal. But the experiences of the past 5 years have considerably reduced this apprehension. The idea of insisting that these special export programs move *additional* quantities of farm products, beyond what the regular market will take—this is what distinguishes Public Law 480 from other export programs. It is my feeling that Public Law 480, which has been considered by some to be the province of idealists and temporizers, might better be considered as subject matter for hardheaded realists.

If a special export program enables us to help meet the food needs of the developing nations and at the same time permits us to find a useful outlet for our abundant production, this is all to the good. Public Law 480 is such legislation. It is no discredit to the surplus-disposal aspect of the law that it also meets the needs of our friends abroad. And it is no discredit to its foreign-policy attributes that it also helps move our heavy inventories. That the law serves two purposes rather than one does not diminish the importance of either.

The merits of this approach are increasingly recognized by the countries which receive the products, by the nations of the Soviet bloc, by the various countries of the free world which export agricultural products in competition with us, and by the people of the United States.

We are sending our food abroad and also our agricultural technology, both in significant quantities.

Our agricultural shipments are a combination of conventional commercial sales for dollars and special export programs such as I have been describing.

Last year (fiscal 1959) the United States exported \$3.7 billion worth of farm products, production from the equivalent of approximately 40 million acres. About \$2.4 billion worth were sold for dollars, much of this with the help of export subsidies; \$729 million worth were sold in exchange for the currencies of the nations to whom the goods were shipped; \$189 million worth were donated to needy people; \$144 million worth were bartered for strategic materials, which went into our stockpile.

Most of our exports thus move in the commercial markets, for dollars. We must continue to maximize this kind of trade. When special

export programs must be used, the purpose must continue to be, as soon as possible, to shift to sales for dollars.

Food-for-Peace Program

Some of these programs of necessity are new, unique, and unorthodox. They are not described in the standard texts on international trade. They have grown up out of necessity because our stocks were heavy and because dollars weren't available in the countries which needed our products. The food-for-peace program announced by the President and administered by the Secretary of Agriculture is designed to improve the operation of these special export programs. Let me recognize here the constructive leadership given this program by Clarence Miller, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and by Max Myers, Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service. Excellent cooperation has been given by other persons in the Department of Agriculture and in other agencies.

Food can be a powerful ambassador of good will and hence an effective instrument for peace. The food-exporting nations can associate themselves together helpfully in this endeavor, as with the leadership of Secretary Benson they are now doing.

This is the purpose of the food-for-peace program announced by the President and administered by the Secretary of Agriculture. Specifically, this program involves an expansion of commercial trade in farm products and a strengthening of our special export programs.

It may well be that the food-for-peace effort will yield its greatest returns in improved international understanding rather than in sharp increases in the quantity of food moving under special export programs. This, of itself, would be worth while. Nevertheless every constructive effort is being made to increase the quantities of agricultural products thus moved in a manner helpful both to the nation which exports and the nations which import.

American farm products and agricultural technology move abroad through a variety of mediums and in a great number of programs. In the past they moved chiefly through American business and through our agricultural missionaries. More recently they move through private business, through special programs, through educational

efforts such as those carried on by ICA, through the various foundations, and through multilateral programs such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Agriculture's venture into the international age has been along a variety of paths: private and public, unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral. Each of these has its own merit and its own place. If I appear to stress the public programs, it is merely because they are the newest, the most unique, and the most controversial.

Transplanting U.S. Agricultural Science Abroad

We have much to contribute in the form of agricultural science and education as well as in the form of farm products themselves.

American agricultural science is on the march throughout the world. In 54 countries more than a thousand American agricultural scientists are at work under a wide variety of government and private programs. Since the end of World War II, thousands of foreign-born agricultural scientists have returned to their native lands after study and training in the United States. Last year we received more than 3,000 agricultural visitors from abroad. The American system of adult education in agriculture has been adapted and put to use in many countries around the world. Our scientific know-how must be *adapted* rather than *adopted*. The differing conditions abroad make it impossible to transplant our agricultural science directly. Continued ingenuity is needed to modify our American methods.

There is a Danish proverb which says that "you may light another's candle at your own without loss." The net result of assisting other countries is to make our own economic candlepower stronger and brighter.

We often forget that much of our own agricultural science was borrowed from abroad and adapted and improved in this country. In 1820 Thomas Jefferson wrote,

In an infant country like ours, we must depend for improvements on the science of other countries, longer established, possessing better means, and more advanced than we are. To prohibit us from the benefit of foreign light is to consign us to long darkness.

Our own economic progress in the field of agriculture could not have been as rapid as it was—despite our vast wealth of natural resources—without the skills and capital furnished to us by

Europe. We have the opportunity and the responsibility to provide for others the kind of light and knowledge which were so important in our own development.

There are some unique things about transplanting American agricultural science abroad, but in many respects it is similar to the extension work launched so successfully in this country 50 years ago.

Difficult Tasks To Be Faced

Although we have great opportunities in these fields, we face difficult tasks. Further ventures into the international age for agriculture are beset by illusions, problems, and hazards, difficulties sufficiently great to discourage the fainthearted.

First let me cite some illusions.

One illusion is that economic development is a soothing experience and is likely to result in political, social, and economic stability in those developing countries which experience it. This simply is not true. Agricultural advancement carries with it many difficult adjustments, as we have seen in this country: shifts in population, changes in land use, and altered institutions in all the social sciences. These cannot be bypassed, hurdled, or transcended. They are the price of progress. The developing nations have themselves elected the path of progress. It is useless to second-guess their decision. We cannot put the chicken back into the egg. The birth pangs of progress cannot be averted, though by the use of intelligence they may be diminished.

Another illusion is the belief that, if only the material needs of the developing nations can be met, these nations will renounce communism. This is not true; the mind and the spirit are concerned as well as the stomach. Food is an essential but not a sufficient condition for the development of free institutions.

Still another illusion is the thought that the agricultural problems of the developing countries can be met quickly and that the American tendency for excessive production will be of brief duration. This seems unlikely to be true. Programs may well be kept on a temporary basis so as to allow modification as experience is acquired. But programs set up with the expectation that foreign needs will soon diminish and that the conventional market will shortly consume our total production will probably require reexamination.

I have cited some of the illusions. Let me now cite briefly some of the problems.

One of the problems is to convert our thinking in such a manner as to permit us to view the great events of the mid-20th century as steppingstones, not stumbling blocks.

Another problem is to hold to a reasonable level the public cost of agriculture's venture into the international age.

In providing technical assistance our problem is to give this work more status, to make foreign assignments of long enough duration to be genuinely helpful, to be good guests abroad. For problems certain to be of extended duration we need to think in longer terms than 2-year assignments and annual appropriations.

We should avoid sending overdeveloped scientists to underdeveloped countries.

Other problems are to learn better how to distribute our agricultural products without disturbing our commercial markets, how to associate our effort helpfully with the other food-exporting nations, and how to use the foreign currencies generated by our programs.

Another problem, and a great one, is to learn better how to terminate special export programs when the need for them has passed. Assistance must be such as to help these countries stand on their own feet and make their own way. On any other basis the program would be harmful both to the country which supplies the assistance and to the countries which receive the aid.

Helping people to help themselves is not a novelty. We have learned how to do this in a number of sectors. We have learned to graduate farmers from supervised credit—as in the Farmers Home Administration—to competitive commercial credit. Western Europe was graduated from the Marshall plan. Individually we all graduate from dependence as children to responsibility as adults. We can help countries to graduate from our special export programs to commercial trade. Indeed we have already done so. We have shifted from sales for foreign currency to sales for dollars for Italy, for France, for Japan, and for Austria. It will have to be done for other countries as they achieve capability. The speed with which this can be done will vary, of course, from country to country, and the difficulties of accomplishing it will in many cases be very great. That this is a substantial problem, there is no doubt. That it is hopeless, I firmly deny.

A food-for-peace program is beset not only by illusions and operating problems but by positive hazards as well. One of the often-stated hazards is the possibility that the rapidly increasing populations in these countries may swallow up all that we can provide through our special export programs and advancing agricultural technology.

Those pessimistically inclined will say that this risk is so great as to argue against undertaking the venture in any form. Bolder people see in the increasing populations a great need to provide new technology in food production, as well as food itself. There is the need to introduce technology at a more rapid rate than the rate at which the population increases. Indeed this very thing has occurred generally throughout the world during the past decade. There have been no major famines during the past 10 years. History records no previous experience of like duration. Our age is unique in that for the first time in history men in all parts of the world are daring to think seriously in terms of food enough for all. There are indications that voluntary checks on the rate of population growth may in time reduce the dimensions of the problem.

If economic development can go forward with sufficient rapidity, it can become self-generating and in time outgrow the need for reliance upon the United States. This is the hope that draws us on despite the illusions, the problems, and the hazards to which I have referred.

Responsibility Goes With Abundance and Knowledge

The problems of the international age in agriculture are difficult and complex. There is risk in each effort made. But the risks of failing to face up to this opportunity are far greater than those involved in considered action. Political explosions can result, in a shrinking world, from a widening gap between the wealthy and the underdeveloped countries. The embrace of communism by underdeveloped nations which insist upon economic progress and cannot find it within the institutions of the free world—here is a risk that is grave indeed. And to waste our capacity for abundant agricultural production, to make a problem out of what is in fact a great opportunity, this is a severe indictment. Every citizen

senses that food is good and that abundance is a blessing rather than a burden. The problem has its moral as well as its economic and political aspects. This is important in America. The very possession of knowledge and the very capability of abundant production carries with it a responsibility to make these things useful.

There may have been a time and a place at which the responsibility which goes with abundance and knowledge could have been shrugged off, but not in America and not in the mid-20th century. Neither the present voting public nor the future historian will deal kindly with the steward who buries his talent.

This is truly the international age in agriculture. We have, in various ways, propelled agriculture into this age, largely as the result of unmanaged circumstance and without a full consciousness of the possibilities and limitations of this course. The remarkable thing is that we have done as well as we have. Sharing the credit for such success as we have experienced are both the executive and legislative branches of the Government, the business community, and the private citizen, as well as a whole cadre of scientists, educators, and administrators. These same persons bear responsibility for advancing us beyond the stage we now occupy.

What I have endeavored to do in these remarks is to show that the patterns emerging from the venture thus far make a great deal of sense. Having accumulated some years of experience in matching the capabilities of American agriculture with the needs of the uncommitted and underdeveloped nations of the world, we now are reviewing and evaluating our experience to find in it those efforts which have been fruitful, to eliminate or improve those projects which have fallen short of the mark, and to evolve a conscious policy out of what has hitherto been a poorly understood though a rather successful venture.

Agriculture was formerly a stagehand in the dramatic play titled "foreign policy." It is now a legitimate member of the cast.

I commend you on the timeliness and appropriateness of this lecture series and look forward with a great deal of interest to the fruits of your deliberations.

Deputy for Technical Affairs Named to Disarmament Study

Press release 744 dated October 22

The Secretary of State on October 22 appointed Richard S. Leghorn, president of Itek Corp., Waltham, Mass., as Deputy for Technical Affairs to Charles A. Coolidge, who heads the joint disarmament study being undertaken by the State and Defense Departments.

Mr. Leghorn's major responsibility will be analysis and advice on technical matters involved in arms-control proposals and proposals for the organization of continuing technical studies by the Government in the arms-control field.

Mr. Leghorn will serve on a consultative, part-time basis until early 1960.

Assistant Secretary Jones Departs for South Asia

The Department of State announced on October 19 (press release 735) that G. Lewis Jones, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, planned to depart from Washington on October 21 for a visit to south Asia. His route will take him via Tehran, where he served as Minister-Counselor in 1955 and 1956. The purpose of Mr. Jones' trip is to consult with American chiefs of missions and other U.S. officials in that area. He will also make appropriate calls upon officials of the countries visited. Mr. Jones will be accompanied by Evan M. Wilson, a Foreign Service officer.

American Foreign Service posts to be visited by Mr. Jones and Mr. Wilson include Tehran, Karachi, Kabul, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, New Delhi, Katmandu, Calcutta, Dacca, Madras, and Colombo.

Flood-Relief Aid Sent to India

The Department of State announced on October 19 (press release 734) that the U.S. Navy frigate *John S. McCain*, scheduled to arrive at Calcutta on an informal courtesy call on October 21, is carrying approximately \$5,000 worth of antibiotics and other drugs which will be turned over to the Calcutta Ministry of Health for use in

the flood-relief measures undertaken by the Government of India.

This brings the total U.S. Government contribution to current flood-relief activities in India to \$10,000. There have been unprecedented floods throughout India this year, particularly in West Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Earlier this month the American Embassy donated 25,000 rupees in answer to a call from Prime Minister Nehru for donations to replenish the national relief fund.

In addition, large quantities of food commodities (milk, wheat, and corn), distributed through U.S. voluntary agencies in India under the U.S. Government's P.L. 480 program, are being allocated to West Bengal flood-relief activities.

Last week the American Red Cross made a grant of \$5,000 to the Indian Red Cross, and the American Junior Red Cross granted \$5,000 for work with children affected by the flood situation.

Letters of Credence

Jordan

The newly appointed Ambassador of Jordan, Yusuf Haikal, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on October 20. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and President Eisenhower's reply, see Department of State press release 737 dated October 20.

GATT Ministerial Meeting To Convene at Tokyo

Press release 747 dated October 23 for release October 25

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

The 15th session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) opens on October 26. This session will be held at Tokyo at the invitation of the Japanese Government.

The GATT is the basic instrument governing commercial relations between the United States and the principal trading nations of the free world and is the cornerstone of U.S. commercial policy. The provisions of the GATT are designed to reduce governmental interference with the flow of trade and with the exercise of private business

initiative. The 37 contracting parties to the GATT account for more than 80 percent of international trade.

Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon will represent the United States at the Ministerial Meeting, which takes place in the first days of the 4-week session.¹ The chairman of the U.S. delegation is W. T. M. Beale, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. Henry Kearns, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs, is vice chairman. The congressional advisers are Representative Hale Boggs and Representative Victor A. Knox.

An important subject of attention at the Ministerial Meeting and during the rest of the session is the relationship between commercial policy and the new financial situation created early this year when, reflecting improved balance-of-payments and reserve positions, all of the European currencies important in international trade were made externally convertible. U.S. representatives will emphasize that, given the new currency situation, discriminatory import restrictions can no longer be justified on financial grounds. A number of countries have accelerated their progress this year in removing quantitative restrictions against exports from the dollar area, but further progress is necessary to complete the job. A major objective of the U.S. delegation to the Tokyo meeting will be to encourage other countries to eliminate rapidly the remaining discriminations against dollar goods and generally to reduce the level of their quantitative import restrictions.

The major agenda items include consideration of the threefold program initiated last year at the 13th session² for the expansion of international trade and being carried out through three special committees:

(1) The Contracting Parties will have before them a report of the committee charged with developing rules and procedures to be used in the new round of multilateral tariff negotiations to be held in 1960-61, as agreed by the Contracting Parties at the 14th session.³ It is expected that the rules

and procedures will generally follow the pattern of those used in 1956 and earlier rounds of GATT tariff negotiations, with some necessary modification to take account of the complexities of the negotiations with the European Common Market (European Economic Community—EEC).

(2) The second committee's examination of the national agricultural policies of contracting parties as they affect trade in agricultural products will continue. The first series of country examinations was held in the latter part of September. There will be a third series of consultations in January 1960, at which time U.S. agricultural policies will be examined.

(3) The third committee's report on its preliminary examination of barriers to the trade of the less developed countries will be discussed. The importance of facilitating the expansion of export earnings by the less developed countries is recognized by both the industrialized and the less developed GATT countries. The work program of this committee calls for another meeting in the first part of 1960.

Poland's request to participate in the work of the GATT will be considered at the Tokyo session. Following consideration of a working party report on this subject, the Contracting Parties are expected to agree upon arrangements for a closer relationship between Poland and the Contracting Parties than that afforded by the observer status which Poland now has.

The continued application to Japan of GATT article XXXV, whereby a number of countries decline to undertake GATT obligations toward that country, will also be considered at this session.

The European Economic Community will report on developments within the Common Market, and one of the Latin American contracting parties will present information concerning a proposed regional trade arrangement in that area.

Early this year a committee of the Contracting Parties held consultations with eight countries that still maintain import restrictions to safeguard their monetary reserves. At the 15th session consultations with six other countries will be completed. In these consultations, required by the provisions of GATT, the Contracting Parties examine the quantitative import restrictions still in force, their effects, the need for their retention, and the prospects for their removal. These consultations constitute one of the several methods utilized by

¹ For a departure statement by Mr. Dillon, see *BULLETIN* of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 633.

² For a review of the 13th session, see *ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1958, p. 930.

³ For a report on the 14th session, see *ibid.*, June 22, 1959, p. 917.

the Contracting Parties to promote nondiscrimination in international trade and the reduction of governmental trade barriers.

Many of the remaining agenda items concern annual reports required by decisions taken in previous years, customs problems, and administrative matters.

U.S. DELEGATION

Ministerial Representative

Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary of State

Special Assistant to Ministerial Representative

John M. Leddy, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State

Representatives

W. T. M. Beale, *Chairman*, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs

Henry Kearns, *Vice Chairman*, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs

Douglas MacArthur II, American Ambassador to Japan

Ben H. Thibodeaux, Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs, American Embassy, Tokyo

Herbert F. Propps, *Senior Coordinator*, Commercial Policy and Treaties Division, Department of State

Congressional Advisers

Hale Boggs, House of Representatives

Victor A. Knox, House of Representatives

Advisers

Philip Areeda, Assistant Special Counsel to the President

Saul Baran, Japan-Korea Section, Far Eastern Division, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce

Emerson M. Brown, Office of International Trade, Department of State

Prentice N. Dean, Associate Chief, Foreign Economic Policy Division, Office of Foreign Economic Affairs, Department of Defense

A. Richard De Felice, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Agricultural Trade Policy and Analysis Division, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture

Ben D. Dorfman, Chief Economist, U.S. Tariff Commission

Morris J. Fields, Chief, Commercial Policy and United Nations Division, Office of International Finance, Department of the Treasury

Walter Hollis, Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for Economic Affairs, Department of State

Dallas L. Jones, Chief, Exchange Restrictions Branch, International Finance Division, Department of State

Leonard R. Linsenmayer, Associate Director, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

Richard L. Mattheisen, Assistant to the Director, Office of Economic Affairs, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce

Virginia H. McClung, Office of International Resources, Department of State

J. Allen Overton, Vice Chairman, U.S. Tariff Commission

John H. Richter, Chief, European Analysis Branch, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture

Harry Shooshan, International Activities Assistant, Technical Review Staff, Department of the Interior

Clarence Siegel, Deputy Director, European Division, Office of Economic Affairs, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce

Technical Secretary

Guy A. Wiggins, Commercial Policy and Treaties Division, Office of International Trade, Department of State

Secretary to the Delegation

Leo W. Garvey

IMF Announces Decision on Discriminatory Restrictions

IMF Announcement of October 25

One of the most discussed subjects at the recent annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund¹ was the elimination of discrimination in international trade and payments. Since then, the Executive Directors have considered the subject and have adopted the following unanimous decision, which will be communicated to the member countries of the Fund and to the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade meeting at Tokyo.²

Text of Decision

DISCRIMINATION FOR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS REASONS

The following decision deals exclusively with discriminatory restrictions imposed for balance of payments reasons.

In some countries, considerable progress has already been made toward the elimination of discriminatory restrictions; in others, much remains to be done. Recent international financial developments have established an environment favorable to the elimination of discrimination for balance of payments reasons. There has been a substantial improvement in the reserve positions of the

¹ For statements made by President Eisenhower, Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury T. Graydon Upton during the annual meetings of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and International Finance Corporation, see BULLETIN of Oct. 19, 1959, p. 531.

² See p. 679.

industrial countries in particular and widespread moves to external convertibility have taken place.

Under these circumstances, the Fund considers that there is no longer any balance of payments justification for discrimination by members whose current receipts are largely in externally convertible currencies. However, the Fund recognizes that where such discriminatory restrictions have been long maintained, a reasonable amount of time may be needed fully to eliminate them. But this time should be short and members will be expected to proceed with all feasible speed in eliminating discrimination against member countries, including that arising from bilateralism.

Notwithstanding the extensive moves toward convertibility, a substantial portion of the current receipts of some countries is still subject to limitations on convertibility, particularly in payments relations with state-trading countries. In the case of these countries the Fund will be prepared to consider whether balance of payments considerations would justify the maintenance of some degree of discrimination, although not as between countries having externally convertible currencies. In this connection the Fund wishes to reaffirm its basic policy on bilateralism as stated in its decision of June 22, 1955.

Japanese Trade Mission Visits United States

The Department of State announced on October 24 (press release 751) that an official Japanese trade mission was scheduled to arrive at Washington on October 24 for a 5-day visit before beginning a 1-month tour of the United States which will include stopovers in New York, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Houston, Dallas, Los Angeles, and Honolulu.

The mission consists of eight members, six businessmen and two Government officials, under the leadership of Seitaro Okamatsu, president of the Chiyoda Kogyo Company of Tokyo. Mr. Okamatsu is a former Vice Minister of International Trade and Industry. The other private members of the mission represent a cross section of Japanese industry, while the two public members represent the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

The program of the mission's stay in Washington includes calls on the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Thomas C. Mann, the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, J. Graham Parsons, and officials of the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. Assistant Secretary Parsons will hold a reception in honor of the mission on October 28.

This is the second Japanese trade mission to come to the United States in postwar years. Its visit corresponds to similar visits which United States trade missions have made to Japan. The purpose of these exchanges is the promotion of trade and good will between the two countries.

British End Exchange Restrictions on Travel to U.S.

Department Statement

Press release 742 dated October 22

On October 19 the British Government announced the removal as of November 1 of exchange restrictions relating to foreign travel by British residents. Although certain formalities remain, these are being maintained only for the purpose of preventing unauthorized capital movements.

The Department of State has noted this announcement with satisfaction. The action of the British Government is welcome not only because it represents further progress in dismantling restrictions on United Kingdom transactions with the United States but also because it will eliminate the foreign-exchange barrier which has tended to limit the expansion of personal contacts between the peoples of the United States and the United Kingdom.

It is to be hoped that other countries which still maintain exchange restrictions on travel to the United States will also find it possible to eliminate them in the near future.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Report on the Operations of the Department of State (Under Public Law 584). Letter from the Under Secretary of State transmitting a report by the Department which contains a summary of developments for the calendar year 1958. H. Doc. 194. July 7, 1959. 100 pp.

U.S. Private Foreign Investment. Hearings before the subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the effect of private foreign investment on U.S. employment, profits, and markets. July 13-15, 1959. 171 pp.

International Educational and Cultural Relations. Hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. August 19, 1959. 49 pp.

General Assembly Calls for Respect for Rights of Tibetan People

Following are statements on the question of Tibet made by James W. Barco and Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representatives to the U.N. General Assembly, together with the text of a resolution adopted by the Assembly on October 21.

FIRST STATEMENT BY MR. BARCO¹

The United States supports the request of the delegations of Ireland and Malaya² that the item "The question of Tibet" be inscribed on the agenda as an important and urgent matter and that it be allocated to the plenary body of the Assembly.

The Dalai Lama on September 9 appealed to the United Nations for consideration among other things of "the inhuman treatment and crimes against humanity and religion to which the people of Tibet are being subjected." The Dalai Lama reported that Chinese Communist armed forces in Tibet have deprived thousands of Tibetans of their lives and property, have utilized cruel measures with a view to the total extermination of the Tibetan race, and have attempted to destroy the Tibetan religion and culture. The source and nature of these grave charges are in and of themselves sufficient to justify inscription of this item.

The charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small. One of the declared purposes of the United Nations is to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. In these circumstances

the United Nations cannot fail to heed the Dalai Lama's appeal.

The International Commission of Jurists, a nongovernmental and nonpolitical organization supported by 30,000 lawyers in more than 50 countries and a body which has consultative status with the United Nations, has issued a comprehensive report entitled "The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law." This report is based in part on statements made by Tibetan refugees which were collected under the direction of an eminent jurist, Mr. Purshottam Trikamdas. On August 21, 1959, Mr. Trikamdas told a news conference that a *prima facie* case existed that the Chinese Communists in Tibet had committed atrocities amounting to genocide. One thing which is entirely clear to all unbiased observers is that large-scale violations of fundamental human rights have taken place in Tibet.

The charter of this organization provides a standard for civilized conduct everywhere. The United Nations has demonstrated the deep concern of world public opinion over flagrant violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms wherever they have occurred. Just because the wrongs which our charter seeks to prevent are being suffered by a people in a remote and inaccessible part of the world does not mean that we can ignore the shocking events which are taking place there. To do so would be inconsistent with the purposes and principles of this organization and would expose the United Nations to the charge of indifference to wrongs of a magnitude which strike at the core of human decency. The United States for its part would have welcomed giving the Dalai Lama the opportunity to present his case personally to this body. The United States welcomes the initiative of Ireland and Malaya, members which have traditionally been in the forefront

¹ Made in the General Committee on Oct. 9 during debate on inscription of the item "The question of Tibet" (U.S. delegation press release 3247).

² U.N. doc. A/4234.

of United Nations consideration of violations of human rights. The United States will vote for inscription of "The question of Tibet" and for allocation of this item to the plenary.

SECOND STATEMENT BY MR. BARCO¹

We are here today considering a question involving the fate of a whole people, the ancient and courageous people of Tibet. I regret very much the strident note that the representative of the Soviet Union has sought to inject into these proceedings. But for this it would not have been necessary for me to address this committee again.

The representative of the Soviet Union has made astonishing statements here today reflecting on the good faith of all those who are concerned about the fate of the Tibetan people and who stand for the fundamental human rights on which this organization is founded. In particular the representative of the Soviet Union has made an outrageous and unprecedented attack on the sponsors of this item and on the United States. I categorically and utterly deny each and every one of the baseless charges against the United States made this afternoon by Mr. [V. V.] Kuznetsov, and they deserve no further comment.

The question before us is a very simple one: What is the influence of this organization to be on the great issues of our times? Never has the answer to this question been more important than today. I hope we will all ponder that question when we cast our votes for or against the people of Tibet.²

STATEMENT BY MR. LODGE³

Before making my statement on the Tibetan question, I would like to take a minute under my right of reply—not, I hasten to say, in any heat at all but merely to keep the record straight.

Mr. Kuznetsov this morning mentioned the United States twice in his speech. The first time

was a reference to the talks between President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev,⁴ a reference which we appreciate.

The second was a disapproving reference to the presence of United States troops in Korea, a reference which I am bound to admit seems to us inconsistent with the comment on the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks. Surely the Soviet Union knows that the United States troops are in Korea pursuant to resolutions of the United Nations. This is something which all United Nations members can well understand and support.

Basis for Consideration of Tibet Item

On the initiative of the delegations of Ireland and Malaya the General Committee recommended to the General Assembly the inscription of an item entitled "The question of Tibet." The United States supported this initiative, which was based on the appeal of the Dalai Lama, and we welcome the decision of the General Assembly to consider the terrible ordeal of the Tibetan people.

Opposition to the consideration of this item in the Assembly has been based on two very different positions.

First, there have been the attempts to, in effect, frighten us out of discussing it by the use of strong words. We have been asked to believe that it is all right for Chinese Communists to kill Tibetans but that it is a provocation for us to talk about it. This argument seems to us unworthy of discussion. It is an argument of intimidation by false logic.

Doubts about the Assembly's competence to deal with this matter have stemmed from the view that events taking place in Tibet were an internal matter and thus subject to article 2, paragraph 7, of the charter—that is, the domestic jurisdiction clause. I think the question of the General Assembly's competence can be answered clearly and affirmatively whatever one's views may be as to the legal status of Tibet.

The interest and concern of the United Nations in human rights and fundamental freedom is set forth in article 55 of the charter. That article reads in part as follows:

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and

¹ Made in the General Committee on Oct. 9 (U.S. delegation press release 3248).

² The recommendation to include the item on Tibet in the agenda was approved by the General Committee on Oct. 9, and the item was adopted in plenary session on Oct. 12 by a vote of 43 to 11, with 25 abstentions.

³ Made in plenary session on Oct. 20 (U.S. delegation press release 3259).

⁴ For background, see BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

... universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

This charter provision is the basis of General Assembly consideration of such a problem as the situation in Tibet.

Article 10, in setting forth the functions and the powers of the General Assembly states this:

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

And obviously the subjects of article 55 are "matters within the scope of the present Charter."

In the years since the establishment of the United Nations certain principles and rules concerning the application of article 2, paragraph 7, have emerged. It has become established, for example, that inscription and then discussion of an agenda item do not constitute intervention in matters which lie essentially within domestic jurisdiction. As to the adoption by the General Assembly of resolutions, the charter in articles 10 and 55 has conferred a clear and well-articulated authority upon the Assembly, which it has exercised on several occasions in the past.

Now, Mr. President, charges of very serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Tibet have been presented to this Assembly. In the context of the charter and of the precedents, the General Assembly is surely competent to express itself concerning such action and to appeal for the observance of liberty. This is what the draft resolution presented by Ireland and Malaya⁷ would do. The United States believes that there is no doubt of the Assembly's authority to adopt it.

Record of Events in Tibet

So much for the question of our competence here. I now proceed to the matter of Tibet.

Toward the end of March this year, reports began to filter out of Tibet that the Tibetan people

had rebelled against the Chinese Communist campaign to destroy their liberties, their religion, and their way of life and that Chinese Communist armed forces in Tibet were battling and killing Tibetans on a large scale. On March 26 the Acting Secretary of State of the United States expressed his deep shock at these reports.⁸

The Chinese Communists told a different story, of a kind which is almost ritualistic in such cases. They said the disorders had been fomented by a "reactionary clique." When the Dalai Lama, the spiritual and temporal leader of the Tibetan people, left Lhasa rather than submit, they announced that this same "reactionary clique" had kidnaped him. This phrase, may I say, is straight out of the Chinese Communist phrasebook.

The world waited anxiously as Chinese Communist troops hunted the Dalai Lama through the mountain passes of the Himalayas. We remember the thankful relief which greeted Prime Minister Nehru's announcement that the Dalai Lama had reached safety in India on March 31.

At his first news conference in Tezpur on April 18 the Dalai Lama gave the first authoritative account of the uprising. He revealed that the Tibetan people have been engaged since 1955 in a struggle against the Chinese Communist army of occupation. He told of the destruction of monasteries, the killing of lamas, and the herding of Tibetan monks and officials into forced labor on road gangs. He told how the situation had deteriorated to a point where his own person was in danger. When his palace was fired upon by the Chinese Communist forces, he decided to leave Lhasa.

The Dalai Lama, in this statement, said that he "came to India of his own free will and not under duress." Given the distances and the terrain involved, no one could doubt the truth of his statement that "it was due to the loyalty and affectionate support of his people that the Dalai Lama was able to find his way through a route which is quite arduous."

If the Tibetan people had not been so fortunate as to have a leader of the stature and the courage of the Dalai Lama, probably the world would never have been certain as to what was actually happening during this period. The result was a

⁷ U.N. doc. A/L. 264.

⁸ BULLETIN of Apr. 13, 1959, p. 514.

complete exposure of the trumped-up and—one must say it—wholly unbelievable charges of the Chinese Communists concerning Tibet.

After a period of rest and meditation the Dalai Lama, at his press conference in Mussoorie on June 20, revealed in moving detail the exact nature and extent of the Chinese Communist reign of terror. This story has been told by the Dalai Lama himself and by the distinguished speakers who have preceded me, and I will not repeat it again.

In response to questions at this press conference the Dalai Lama stated that more than 65,000 Tibetans had been killed fighting the Chinese army of occupation since 1956, that more than 1,000 monasteries had been destroyed, that lamas and monks had been killed, and that a full-scale campaign had been waged for the extermination of religion. He stated that the Chinese Communists had embarked on a large-scale policy of colonization by millions of Chinese settlers. He said the younger generation of Tibetans were being indoctrinated into Chinese communism. The ultimate aim of the Chinese Communists appeared to him to be the extermination of Tibetan religion and culture and even of the Tibetan race.

The Dalai Lama concluded by stating that he would return to Lhasa when he obtained the rights and powers which Tibet had enjoyed and exercised before 1950.

Now, Mr. President, these statements by the Dalai Lama are common knowledge. They are widely known, just as I have quoted them, everywhere in the world where a free press exists. The Chinese Communists recognize full well that the Dalai Lama, no matter where he is, remains the spiritual and temporal leader of all loyal Tibetans. But the propagandists in Peiping constantly picture him as a prisoner under duress—which is a grim irony since the only duress he has known was at their hands. Actually, the freedom and hospitality accorded by the Government of India to the Dalai Lama belie all such insinuations.

On August 30 the Dalai Lama issued a further statement in which he announced his intention to appeal to the United Nations for the verdict of all peace-loving and conscientious nations. His statement also contained "a personal appeal to all civilized countries to lend full support to our cause of freedom and justice."

Finally, on September 9 the Dalai Lama addressed an appeal to the Secretary-General for United Nations consideration of Tibet's case,

which the distinguished representative of Malaya has already submitted to you.

So much for the record of events.

Report by International Commission of Jurists

Now, Mr. President, it seems to us that there is no reason whatever for doubting one single thing that the Dalai Lama has said. But there are also other witnesses to this tragedy. Prominent among them is the International Commission of Jurists, a nongovernmental organization which has consultative status in the United Nations and is supported by 30,000 jurists in over 50 nations. Last July this group published in Geneva a preliminary report entitled "The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law."

Here are some of the salient points in this report:

1. The Chinese Communists have killed tens of thousands of Tibetans and have deported thousands of Tibetan children.
2. They have killed Buddhist monks and lamas on a large scale.
3. They have destroyed Buddhist monasteries, desecrated holy places, and publicly humiliated religious leaders in a manner calculated to shock the people out of their age-old religious faith.
4. They have subjected religious leaders and public officials to forced labor, arbitrary arrest, and torture.
5. They have plundered Tibet on a wide scale, creating widespread hunger.

Mr. President, considering these facts, the authors of the report then wrote these words:

The rights of the Tibetans which appear to have been ruthlessly violated are of the most fundamental—even that of life itself. . . . It is a question of conduct which shocks the civilized world. . . . The evidence points to a systematic design to eradicate the separate national, cultural and religious life of Tibet. . . .

It is submitted, with a full appreciation of the gravity of this accusation, that the evidence points at least to a *prima facie* case of Genocide against the People's Republic of China. This case merits full investigation by the United Nations.

That is the end of the quotation from that report. It was based, let me say, in part on statements collected from Tibetan refugees under the direction of the able Indian jurist, Mr. Purshottam Trikamdas. Further material is being collected which will form the basis of a comprehensive report to be issued at a later date.

Reform and Social Progress in Tibet

Now, Mr. President, let me say a word about the matter of reform and social progress in Tibet. The Soviet representative has sought to discredit the Dalai Lama by characterizing his advisers as "a small band of feudal lords and abbots who have violated the rights of the Tibetan people."

Mr. President, we submit that it is risky, to say the least, to judge a culture by a rigid system of ideas which is alien to that culture and whose advocates consider that everyone else in the world—Buddhists, Christians, Jews, Muslims—are wrong and that they alone have all the answers.

While the Tibetan way of life is permeated by the ideals of Buddhism, visitors to Tibet are struck with the kindness and helpfulness that Tibetans in all walks of life lavish on foreign guests. More than one foreigner who thought of Tibet only as a primitive and backward land—which it is, measured solely by the standards of an industrialized society—has returned from Tibet with a great respect for the spiritual qualities of its people.

Capital punishment used to be virtually unknown in Tibet. Before the arrival of the Chinese Communists other religions, such as that of the Muslims, were not subjected to restrictions. We can gage the atrocities which have been committed in Tibet by the fact that these religious, peaceful, friendly people were driven beyond the limit of their endurance and took up arms against their oppressors.

It is also noteworthy, in view of some of the things that have been said from this rostrum today, that the Chinese Communists should find it necessary to maintain large armies in order to persuade the Tibetan people to accept the so-called benefits which one would have you believe they are trying to confer upon them, because prior to 1950 there were no Chinese armed forces in Tibet. The small local Tibetan forces were adequate for all needs.

The so-called Panchen Lama, at a meeting staged by the Chinese Communists recently in Peiping, said that "the flames"—and this is worth noting because it is an extraordinarily phrased declaration—"the flames of the democratic reform movement are spreading to every corner of Tibet's countryside." That has an incendiary sound which suggests the arsonist more than it does the political reformer. What in reality is happening

is that the flames set by the Chinese Communist army are spreading over Tibet.

This becomes apparent when you note what the vice chairman of the National Affairs Commission of Communist China, whose name is Wang Feng, in discussing what would happen if any of the nationalities under the Commission's control should resist reform, said on September 27, 1959, which is very recent:

It would then be necessary to resolutely pulverize their resistance in order to insure implementation of the reform.

He thus made it clear that when the Communists speak of "reforms" they mean forceful communication.

Mr. President, Tibet's culture is ancient. Its monasteries prior to the advent of the Chinese Communists were considered priceless storehouses of Asian culture. Historians and religious leaders in many countries have acknowledged their debt to the lamas who have preserved through the centuries important documents unobtainable anywhere else. Prior to their looting and destruction, Tibetan monasteries were also museums containing religious statues, paintings, and tapestries of great artistic worth.

The most distinctive feature of Tibetan culture is Lamaism. This is a manifold institution. Lamaism combines into one all the religious, educational, political, economic, and social institutions of Tibetan life. Every phase of existence in Tibet has a religious significance.

A Tibetan monastery, in addition to caring for the spiritual life of the people, was also a comprehensive educational institution. The larger ones were equivalent to universities accommodating thousands of monk-students.

Now, Mr. President, nobody has argued that this way of life could go on forever in isolation from the rest of the world. The Dalai Lama is an enlightened leader. He himself stated on June 22 of this year:

During the last 9 years several reforms were proposed by me and my Government, but every time these measures were strenuously opposed by the Chinese in spite of popular demand for them, with the result that nothing was done for the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people.

In particular it was my earnest desire that the system of land tenure should be radically changed without further delay and the large landed estates acquired by the state on payment of compensation for distribution amongst the tillers of the soil. But the Chinese authorities deliberately put every obstacle in the way of carry-

ing out this just and reasonable reform. I desire to lay stress on the fact that we, as firm believers in Buddhism, welcome change and progress consistently with the genius of our people and the rich tradition of our country.

But the people of Tibet will stoutly resist any victimization, sacrilege, and plunder in the name of reforms—a policy which is now being enforced by the representatives of the Chinese government in Lhasa.

Surely there can be no better proof that the Chinese Communists came to Tibet not bent on reform but bent on power and domination.

And now we have the spectacle of these deeply religious people, their monasteries laid low and their priests and leaders slaughtered or disgraced, being driven into the so-called people's communes. That cannot be represented as progress; it cannot be represented as reform. It can only be described as a crime which will not be forgotten by the civilized world.

Solemn Obligation of United Nations

Mr. President, on October 5th of this year Mr. Gyalo Thondup, the brother of the Dalai Lama, at a press conference in this city, declared that all that the people of Tibet desired was to be allowed to live their own life in peace and freedom. The Government of the United States wholeheartedly supports this desire, and it was in this spirit that the United States decided after careful consideration to support the initiative of Ireland and Malaya in bringing the question of Tibet before this organization.

The United Nations and the states represented here in the General Assembly have a solemn obligation to stand up for the charter and for the standards of decency in the behavior of nations which it contains. We cannot uphold those standards one day and then ignore them the next day. If we follow such a haphazard course, the community of nations will be undermined and small and weak nations will have nothing to which to appeal against the threat of brute power.

We have no magic, let me say as I conclude, by which we can save Tibet from its sufferings. But we are by no means powerless. We have the facts about the deeds which have been done. We have the standards of the charter by which to judge

those facts. And we have in the General Assembly the world's most influential voice by which to give expression to the opinions of civilized man.

Among the purposes written in the charter is that of

... promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Mr. President, we have an opportunity now to prove that those words mean what they say and that neither thousands of miles of distance nor ingenious arguments nor violent words nor faintness of heart can deter us from our duty to a brave people in their time of agony. If *they* are not afraid to fight and die, let *us* at least not be afraid to speak the truth.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION¹

The General Assembly,

Recalling the principles regarding fundamental human rights and freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948,

Considering that the fundamental human rights and freedoms to which the Tibetan people, like all others, are entitled include the right to civil and religious liberty for all without distinction,

Mindful also of the distinctive cultural and religious heritage of the people of Tibet and of the autonomy which they have traditionally enjoyed,

Gravely concerned at reports, including the official statements of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to the effect that the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet have been forcibly denied them,

Deploring the effect of these events in increasing international tension and in embittering the relations between peoples at a time when earnest and positive efforts are being made by responsible leaders to reduce tension and improve international relations,

1. *Affirms its belief that respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law;*

2. *Calls for respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life.*

¹ U.N. doc. A/Res/1353 (XIV); adopted by the General Assembly on Oct. 21 by a vote of 45 to 9 (Soviet bloc), with 26 abstentions.

Progress of the U.N. Special Fund

*Statement by Christopher H. Phillips
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹*

In the 12th session of the General Assembly the United States delegation cosponsored and strongly supported the creation of a new instrument of the United Nations, the Special Fund. We recognized then, as we do now, the need for intensified economic research, for resource surveys, and for technical training—all essential to economic growth in many developing nations. We envisaged the proposed Special Fund as a strong means of paving the way for new investment of all types, public and private, national and international.

Many member governments, in considering the idea of a Special Fund, understood the pertinence of the following quotation from the Technical Assistance Board's statement in its report entitled "A Forward Look":² "Few underdeveloped countries have inventories of their natural resources or the institutions necessary to develop these inventories."

Even where countries know what their resources are, they frequently need help in determining the best uses to make of these resources. Research and experimentation in new and effective ways to use the materials at hand are the essence of economic development. On the basis of our own experience in the United States, we have been convinced that industrial and agricultural research pay off.

On the initiative of many nations which believe, as we do, in the importance of such basic programs for industry and agriculture, the Special

Fund was established on January 1 of this year.³ From the beginning it undertook to concentrate in depth on resource surveys, technical research, and technical training projects. My delegation believes that the Managing Director [Paul Hoffman] and his staff have done a remarkably effective job in inaugurating a program in keeping with the aims envisaged by the General Assembly.

Viewing Fund's Operations in Perspective

It is less than 2 years since the Preparatory Committee for the Special Fund undertook to consider the principles and criteria which would guide the new organization: How should the new agency relate its work to existing United Nations bodies? What could be done to assure sound and carefully executed projects of the kind best calculated to complement other economic programs of the countries aided and thus to lend impetus toward worthwhile development? How much money could the Special Fund expect in contributions from member governments?

These were some of the questions under discussion by representatives of governments interested in this endeavor, and they constitute, of course, some of the principal problems which Mr. Hoffman has faced as Managing Director of the Special Fund.

In May of this year the Managing Director presented the Special Fund's first program to the Governing Council.⁴ Like many other members we expressed our satisfaction with the energetic way in which the Special Fund has undertaken

¹ Made in Committee II (Economic and Financial) on Oct. 5 (U.S. delegation press release 3232). Mr. Phillips is also U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council.

² U.N. doc. E/2885 and Corr. 1.

³ For background and text of the resolution establishing the Fund, see BULLETIN of Nov. 3, 1958, p. 702.

⁴ U.N. doc. SF/L. 18.

its precedent-setting tasks. We indicated our approval of the steps taken to launch the Fund and commended the Managing Director for the vision and leadership he had displayed. Along with other members the United States endorsed the first list of projects approved by the Special Fund, while noting that these initial projects were not intended to constitute a precedent either as to distribution by area or selection of projects by type. We understood, rather, that these were simply all the sound projects that had been processed by the end of March. We also joined in endorsing the criteria and principles proposed by the Managing Director to guide the Fund in its review of projects.

We are gratified that, in the short time which has elapsed since the inception of this program, the record of the Special Fund and its report to ECOSOC clearly reveal that the work has gone forward extremely well. On behalf of the United States delegation may I express our admiration for the dynamic Managing Director and his capable staff for the imagination, energy, and skill which they are devoting to their tasks. I would hesitate to praise a fellow American if he were not someone of the stature of Paul Hoffman, whose friends and admirers may be found all over the world.

In the light of its energetic performance during the very short period of its existence, we are, even now, able to view the early operations of this promising United Nations activity in some perspective. There is reason to expect that projects now under consideration will demonstrate the unique value of the Special Fund. We are confident that useful projects will be extended to additional underdeveloped areas of the world whenever nations which seek help can develop and submit projects of a type which the Fund can appropriately undertake.

Both General Assembly resolution 1219⁶ of the 12th session and the report of the Preparatory Committee⁶ state that the Fund shall "provide systematic and sustained assistance in fields essential to the integrated technical, economic and social development of the less developed countries."

This guiding principle accepts the fact of a close relationship between social development and

economic development. By direct inference the General Assembly and the Special Fund itself recognize the likelihood that social projects will frequently be given a high priority where such projects "provide systematic and sustained assistance" to an integrated development program. We would therefore anticipate that, in addition to projects of a preinvestment type, those of a social and economic overhead nature will be supported when they are a *sine qua non* of significant development.

There are some social categories of development which in various areas of the world bear an intimate relationship to economic progress. Eradicating endemic diseases, insuring unpolluted water supplies for human consumption, and providing adequate housing are examples of activities which in many circumstances are inseparable from economic as well as social progress. In our opinion many projects in these fields deserve support by the Special Fund. Among them are: concentrated research which can lead to more effective use of local building materials and which can train the trainers of construction artisans; technical training institutes; and higher institutions which can develop doctors, nurses, and scientists as well as economists, engineers, and administrators. Also in this category are demographic studies important for economic and social development.

Work of American Universities

We note with approval that in the execution of Special Fund projects consideration is being given to the use of established institutions, such as universities and research institutes, to supervise projects in their fields of competence. The United States, in its reply dated June 2, 1959, to the Secretary-General's request for information under General Assembly resolution 1316, adopted in the 13th session, and noted in document E/3258/Add.2, has pointed out the comprehensive work which universities and research institutes of the United States are doing to improve the living conditions of people in less developed countries.

In one academic year alone—between 1957 and 1958—at least 184 American universities and colleges were engaged in international programs of economic and social research and training, with an annual expenditure of \$25 million to \$30 mil-

⁶ BULLETIN of Jan. 13, 1958, p. 71.

⁶ U.N. doc. A/3908 and Corr. 1.

lion. Some of these programs are arranged directly between our universities and those in other countries. Some are private agreements between our universities and foreign governments. Still others are operated on contract with the International Cooperation Administration of the United States Government. In the latter category the ICA has entered into some 80 contracts with universities calling for cumulative expenditures of more than \$71 million in more than 30 foreign countries.

For example, the Oklahoma State University has helped set up an agricultural technical school in Ethiopia which now has an enrollment of over 210 students engaged in comprehensive agricultural training and research. The University of Michigan, in association with the University of the Philippines, helped to establish an institute of public administration in the Philippines which since 1956 has been completely operated, administered, and staffed by Filipinos. More than 3,000 Philippine Government employees have received training at this institute since the inception of the program.

In Africa the United States National Academy of Sciences, in cooperation with the ICA and in association with representative governments of the area, has been making an intensive survey of education, science, and technology south of the Sahara. The objective is to delineate those problems of major significance to the well-being of the peoples in that area and to identify basic programs which can contribute effectively toward the solution of some of the most pressing of these problems. This study, which is expected to be finished soon, will contain recommendations for various kinds of cooperation relating to scientific and technological development.⁷

These few examples of the many which might be mentioned are tangible indications that real help to developing countries is forthcoming from many sources in the fields of technical training and resource surveys. The skills and experience of the free world are being increasingly marshaled to seek solutions for the multitude of basic technical problems. Engaged in these tasks are institutions both public and private, both national and international.

⁷ For an announcement of the completion of the study, see BULLETIN of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 634.

We believe that the United States educational institutions which participate in these programs represent a good cross section of all geographic regions of the United States and practically all academic disciplines and are typical in their caliber and in their diversity of the finest scholarly traditions and practical achievements of the American people.

I have spoken at some length about what American universities are doing because I have the feeling that such nongovernmental activities are too little known and their importance too little appreciated as sources of fundamental research and training which can contribute a great deal on a reciprocal basis to the scientific, social, and economic advancement of developing areas. I am confident that this is equally true of such groups in many nations. The experience of universities, private foundations, and other institutions of my country in carrying on this work suggests that the Special Fund will find it most useful to develop its relationship with such bodies in many countries toward the same end.

Unique Role of the Fund

The criteria established by the Preparatory Committee and the projects approved and contemplated by the Special Fund reveal that the organization has staked out a field of activity which does not compete with the regular programs of the specialized agencies, particularly those responsible for capital financing, or with the work of the expanded program in the technical assistance field.

It is worth noting also that the Special Fund is undertaking many tasks of an economic overhead nature which lay stress on industrialization and on the closely related fields of technical training and transport and communications. In the first 13 projects approved by the Governing Council, six appear to be directly related to industrialization or power development. Industrial training projects in Yugoslavia, Poland, India, and Turkey, a regional one for Central America, and an electric-power survey for Argentina are all in this category. The Bangkok port channel survey is also closely related to industrial development.

While we agree with the Managing Director as to the desirability of having additional agricultural development projects, at the same time the work thus far undertaken or contemplated by the

Special Fund in the industrial field does appear to meet urgent needs and to complement other programs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. To the extent that the Special Fund encourages research, training, and resource surveys in the field of industrialization, it facilitates subsequent economic development through both public and private investment.

The Managing Director of the Special Fund has made it clear on several occasions that in the course of just a few months practical projects have been proposed for approval beyond the limits of available funds. The hopeful portents of success for the Special Fund make it all the more necessary that contributions from member governments keep pace with the program of work which is evolving.

The Managing Director, in his statement to the Governing Council in May of this year, placed great emphasis on obtaining adequate voluntary

contributions. In this connection we regret that a substantial portion of the amount pledged to the Fund by the United States Government could not be used because the necessary matching contributions could not be obtained. We are encouraged by the trend among some of the more economically developed nations toward increasing their contributions. For example, we are gratified by the announced decision of the United Kingdom to increase its contribution from \$1 million to \$5 million. We sincerely hope that not only will other economically advanced member states increase their contributions but that other nations will also do so, though on a more modest basis. If all member states do their part we can reasonably hope that the Special Fund will continue to evolve into an instrumentality of the United Nations which can play a significant part in the development of less developed areas of the world.

Planning Economic and Social Development

Statement by Walter M. Kotschnig

Director, Office of International Economic and Social Affairs¹

I should like to address myself to the subject matter of both items 6 and 7 of our agenda. Item 6 is entitled "Planning the Pattern of Social Expenditure in Relation to Economic Expenditure and Social and Economic Needs." I would prefer to speak of patterns rather than of the pattern, for there are many possible patterns of planning. Item 7 reads "Methods of Coordinating and Integrating Economic and Social Development Programmes." I want to take these items up together since they are closely interrelated and so contingent upon each other as to be practically inseparable.

Of all the papers put before the working party by the secretariat the paper L.8, entitled "Notes on

Policies and Methods of Coordinating and Integrating Economic and Social Development Programmes," is, in my opinion, one of the best papers submitted to us and admirably balanced in itself. The paper starts out with a discussion of capital investment versus social expenditure. It points out that there is "much more to the expansion of national income than conventional capital investment." It states that "there are important feedback effects from social progress into economic growth." It emphasizes that "certain social conditions constitute infrastructure requirements for economic growth."

The paper then proceeds to a discussion of "human investment," of the human element in the development process. It speaks of the qualities, intangible most of them, which promote economic growth—efficiency, organizational capacity, initiative, energy and hard work, honesty, confidence in the future, skills and knowledge, inventiveness,

¹ Made on Sept. 23 before the fifth session of the Working Party on Economic Development and Planning of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, held at Bangkok, Thailand, Sept. 15-26. Mr. Kotschnig was the U.S. representative at the meeting.

ambition and drive, and several others. Many of these qualities, essential to growth, fall into the category of "variables," which plague the planner and particularly the mathematical economist.

In this context the paper somewhat further on quotes a predecessor of mine, Mr. Simon Kuznets, an economist of repute, who represented the United States at an earlier meeting of this working party. Kuznets speaks of "the clearly increased importance of political and sociopsychological factors in the understanding of the economic growth of nations." He talks of "the helplessness of a mere economist when he observes, when he can observe, results of economic growth obviously ascribed to political factors and forces whose nature he cannot understand adequately." And he continues:

The outcome is either withdrawal into the refuge of mathematical models operating with a few variables, or amateurish cogitations on a vast theme. One has the advantage of formal elegance, and the other, that of at least calling attention to the wider array of factors that have been taken into account; but neither outcome is satisfactory.

These are brave words, well spoken.

Weakness of Totalitarian Approach

I was reminded of these words when I listened yesterday with close attention to the brilliant speech of our Soviet colleague. I would like to make a few comments on what he said—not in a spirit of controversy but for purposes of clarification.

Mr. [I. A.] Evenko reached the conclusion that there are no variables which defy quantification and, hence, all can be fed into electronic computers which will provide all the answers—when and where and in what to invest, what targets to set up, and how to attain them, and how the human equation in development can be solved. In his speech the computing machine did not emerge merely as the father picture, or the big brother, but as God himself.

Mr. Chairman, it is far from my mind to belittle the remarkable achievements in the technological and even economic field in the U.S.S.R. To do so would be foolish and small-minded. But I still dare to submit that electronic computers are better suited to reach the barrenness of the moon than to create a happy society in which the individual can flower and develop his inner richness.

As I see it, the basic weakness in the approach of Mr. Evenko—of the totalitarian approach to development—is that rather than to take into account in the planning process the human element, the more intangible variables, the totalitarian approach tries to minimize or even eliminate that element. In order to have its econometric conclusions, its targets, come true, this approach bends human nature; it regimented the individual; it deprives him of his liberties; it tells him where to go and what to do. In one word, it tends to turn the individual himself into a machine, to reduce him to the stature of a robot. Totalitarian planning of this type loses sight of the central purpose of economic development, which is the freeing of the individual not only from poverty and disease but from the ruthless encroachments of his basic rights by bureaucrats and the all-powerful state.

This may be one way to development, but I submit it is not the best way to economic and social development. Not only are the methods applied destructive of personality, but even the results, from a social point of view, do not appear to be commensurate with the sacrifices involved. We heard yesterday many impressive figures of progress, and I do not propose to question them, although much might be said about the military expenditures in the Soviet Union to which the Soviet representative referred. In spite of these figures the fact remains that *real* wages in the U.S.S.R., not to speak of other totalitarian regimes nearer to this part of the world, remain far below those wages paid in the free economies of the West, and particularly my own country. In spite of remarkable technical developments longer hours of work are required of the Soviet worker to earn enough to buy the basic necessities of life. This is a rather startling fact after 40 years of Soviet communism, even when one takes into account the late start of the U.S.S.R. in large-scale industrialization and the ravages of the Second World War. There continues to prevail a painful shortage of consumer goods, a severely limited choice for the individual as to how to use his limited purchasing power. And there are continuing restrictions on mobility and limitations on other prerogatives of the individual.

Achievements of Free Economies

Leading spokesmen of this system of economic development acknowledge the lag between the achievements of the free economies of the West,

such as that of the United States, and their own economies. Particularly in recent months they have acknowledged the existence of higher levels of living in the Western World. (In parenthesis, I might add that the higher level of production and of living in my own country is illustrated by the fact that in 1958 alone we have been able to make available more than \$5 billion in foreign aid. I am grateful that several speakers attested to the fact that this aid, *inter alia*, has greatly helped them in fostering social development within their countries.)

I do not need to belabor the greater achievements of the free economies of the West for the simple reason that, even where they are not explicitly accepted by Soviet leaders, they are implicitly acknowledged by their assertion that the Soviet economy "will overtake before long the economy of the United States." We in the United States view this kind of statement with equanimity although, since we are not standing still ourselves, we doubt whether these promises will be fulfilled. If so, we can only hope that further achievements in the technical and economic development of the Soviet Union will indeed be translated into higher levels of living for the peoples of the U.S.S.R., for we would like these peoples to have these higher standards of living. Unfortunately there is no indication that, whatever happens, "the state will wither away"—to use the famous dictum of Karl Marx—that there will be real social fulfillment and true freedom for the individual.

Broader Approach to Economic Development

At any rate, the cost in human negation, in suffering and deprivation, of this type of development seems to us so high as to make it essential that every effort be made to find more positive approaches to development, approaches which will not sacrifice whole generations to future targets, which will from the start of development take full account of the *social* element in economic development.

Briefly what does this mean?

First of all, it does not mean the abandonment of national planning, including the use of advanced econometric methods, of the computer. Such planning is highly desirable and useful provided it takes into account to the fullest extent the human and humane element. It is essential also that the limitations of such planning be rec-

ognized, that any plans developed are not to be considered immutable, that they are highly flexible and open to adjustment at all times. They must allow for the human equation and not attempt to mold and fashion individuals to meet targets rather than to fit the targets to the individuals.

Secondly, the approaches which I have in mind must provide for programs with early social impact, such as an emphasis on food production and the development of labor-intensive industries, it being understood, of course, that such programs should not be conceived so as to retard rather than advance fuller measures of industrialization.

Third, social programs need to be developed which have an immediate or early impact on economic development. This includes programs of education, of health, the development of improved labor relations and organization, and the establishment of minimum wages where possible. As I pointed out in an earlier intervention, the acceptance of such programs may involve very difficult choices. It may mean, for instance, that, in terms of short-range planning, limited resources may initially have to be concentrated deliberately on primary education for only part of the population in order to preserve resources for secondary education, particularly of the vocational and technical type necessary to meet pressing requirements for trained personnel. Similarly, in the area of health, efforts may have to be concentrated on certain regions within a country where improved health conditions are most likely to increase production and to create new capital. Such temporary imbalances, while difficult to defend on purely moral grounds, may be necessary in order to provide necessary manpower where it can make the maximum contribution and create new resources for a more comprehensive development of the entire country. They can be defended on the grounds that they will advance rather than retard national development.

Fourth, and above all, it is essential to secure the active participation and the commitment of the people in any development programs—not by force and regimentation but by persuasion and conviction. This means, on the one hand, that the people should be given a chance to participate in the elaboration of plans. In saying this it must be realized, of course, that this principle has only limited applicability, due to the complexity of

planning which often goes beyond the ken and understanding of the common man. However, every possible means of consultation should be used to ascertain needs and aspirations in order to create a sense of hope among the people, a sense of going forward. On the other hand, participation of the people can and must be secured to the fullest extent on the local level in situations within the grasp of the people. It is on that level that initiative must be encouraged, and self-help, and the spirit of mutuality. This is an area in which the various programs of community development, both rural and urban, can make an outstanding contribution.

Fifth, the broader approach of which I speak means recognition of the importance of the private sector in the economy. Private enterprise puts a premium on initiative and vision and should be encouraged even though certain basic controls may have to be established. Incidentally, there is nothing wrong with this idea of personal gain, as even totalitarian planners have recognized. The idea is not foreign to Soviet practice with its high norms set for individual workers which force them to special exertions to exceed the norms in order to attain higher wages. These practices may be presented as forms of so-called "socialist competition," but frequently, in their emphasis on piece-work and payment by results, remind us of earlier "capitalist" practices which with us are falling into disrepute.

This last element of "free enterprise" introduces and reaffirms the concept of the free marketplace which can go a long way in correcting errors made in overall planning, in adjusting plans to unforeseen developments, in emphasizing the principle of free choice which in the short and in the long run is essential to social development in the fullest sense of the word.

Recognition of Importance of Social Advancement

Mr. Chairman, just one final word. Let me say how deeply impressed I am by the fact that in this working party we are not only talking about balanced economic and social development but that the experts from the region present here are themselves demonstrating a remarkably balanced approach to the problems before us. There has been recognition of social advancement as the basic objective of economic development. There has been recognition of the importance of the

social element in assuring economic development. And, above all, there has been recognition that there is more than one approach to success and that more than one approach has to be used. These ideas were reflected in speeches made by the representatives of India, Ceylon, and Indonesia; of Thailand, China, and Korea; of Pakistan, of Viet-Nam—I could go around the entire table and quote from statements made by experts from the region brought together in this working party.

This, Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, is the best guarantee that this region with its infinite problems, infinitely complex, is indeed on the way not to the perfect society but that it is squarely "on the threshold of modernity"—to use another phrase from the secretariat paper—and that from here on out we are moving along our several roads in a spirit of mutual help to a richer life in greater freedom.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission

The Department of State announced on October 19 (press release 733) the following U.S. delegation to the first meeting of the Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission, which convened at Washington, D.C., October 20, 1959:

United States Representative

John F. Floberg, Commissioner, Atomic Energy Commission

Alternate Representatives

John A. Hall, Assistant General Manager for International Activities, Atomic Energy Commission

Charles A. Sullivan, Deputy Special Assistant to the Secretary for Disarmament and Atomic Energy, Department of State

Senior Adviser

Algie A. Wells, Director, Division of International Affairs, Atomic Energy Commission

Advisers

Paul C. Aebersold, Director, Office of Isotopes Development, Atomic Energy Commission

William A. Chapin, Office of the Special Assistant for Disarmament and Atomic Energy, Department of State

Allan T. Dalton, Division of International Affairs, Atomic Energy Commission

Stanley I. Grand, Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs, Department of State

George N. Monsma, Office of Inter-American Regional Political Affairs, Department of State
Edward E. Sinclair, Division of International Affairs, Atomic Energy Commission
George Spiegel, Office of the Assistant General Manager for International Activities, Atomic Energy Commission

This Commission, the statute for which was approved April 22, 1959, is being set up within the Organization of American States to serve as a center of consultation for the member states and to facilitate cooperation among them in matters relating to the peaceful application of nuclear energy. A principal objective of the Commission, which was recommended by the Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives, is to assist the American Republics in developing a co-ordinated plan for research and training in nuclear energy.

The Commission's secretariat will become part of the staff of the Pan American Union, the general secretariat of the Organization of American States.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

- Letter Dated 24 September 1959 From the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom Addressed to the Secretary-General on the Question of Laos. S/4223. September 26, 1959. 4 pp.
- Letter Dated 7 October 1959 From the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Republic Addressed to the Secretary-General, Concerning the Decision Adopted on 6 October 1959 by the Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission. S/4226 and Corr. 1. October 9, 1959. 4 pp.
- Letter Dated 12 October From the Permanent Representative of India, Addressed to the President of the Security Council, Concerning Jammu and Kashmir. S/4228. October 12, 1959. 2 pp.
- Letter Dated 15 October 1959 From the Permanent Representative of Yemen to the President of the Security Council Concerning British Actions Against Yemen. S/4229. October 16, 1959. 2pp.

General Assembly

- Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme. Progress Report on the UNREF Programme and on UNHCR Programmes for 1959 as of 30 June 1959. A/AC.96/35. August 27, 1959. 130 pp.
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Refugee Fund for the Year 1958 and Report of the Board of Auditors Thereon. A/AC.96/46. September 8, 1959. 22 pp.

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United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine. Seventeenth Progress Report for the Period From 1 June 1958 to 31 August 1959. A/4225. September 22, 1959. 10 pp.

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme. Progress Report on Programme for New Hungarian Refugees. Submitted by the High Commissioner. A/AC.96/36. September 14, 1959. 32 pp.

Report of the United Nations Good Offices Committee on South West Africa. Letter dated September 21, 1959, from the chairman of the Good Offices Committee on South West Africa addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4224. September 23, 1959. 16 pp.

Cessation of the Transmission of Information Under Article 73 e of the Charter: Communication From the Government of the United States of America. A/4226. September 24, 1959. 59 pp.

Economic Development of Under-developed Countries. Report by the Secretary-General on measures taken by the governments of member states to further the economic development of underdeveloped countries in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1316 (XIII). A/4220. September 25, 1959. 124 pp.

United Nations Emergency Force. Manner of financing the Force: report of the Secretary-General on consultations with governments of member states. A/4176/Add. 1 and Corr. 1. September 25, 1959. 4 pp.

Request for the Inclusion of an Additional Item in the Agenda of the Fourteenth Regular Session: Item Proposed by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic—International Encouragement of Scientific Research Into the Control of Cancerous Diseases, 28 September 1959. A/4233. September 28, 1959. 4 pp.

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Reservations to Multilateral Conventions: the Convention on the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Or-

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

ganization. Report of the Secretary-General. A/4235. October 6, 1959. 29 pp.
Question of South West Africa. Statement made by the representative of the Union of South Africa at the 900th meeting of Committee IV. A/C.4/421. October 13, 1959. 43 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Income-Tax Convention With Norway Enters Into Force

Press release 740 dated October 21

On October 21, 1959, Secretary Herter and Paul Koht, Norwegian Ambassador at Washington, exchanged the instruments of ratification with respect to the supplementary income-tax convention which was signed at Oslo on July 10, 1958¹ (convention between the United States and Norway, modifying and supplementing the convention of June 13, 1949,² for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income).

The supplementary convention was brought into force by the exchange of the instruments of ratification. According to its terms the supplementary convention is effective with respect to taxable years beginning on or after January 1, 1960.

Unlike most of the income-tax conventions to which the United States is a party, the convention of 1949 with Norway did not provide for a reduction of the withholding tax on dividends. The supplementary convention modifies the tax treatment of dividends along the lines of U.S. conventions with other countries. It provides for a withholding rate of 15 percent on dividends paid by a corporation of one country to recipients in the other country. Consistent with the principle in the 1949 convention, this reduced rate will not apply to a recipient of dividends engaged in business through a permanent establishment in the country from which the dividends are paid. The supplementary convention, with certain qualifying limitations, further provides that the withholding tax shall not exceed 5 percent on dividends paid by

a corporation in one country to a corporation in the other country. It is also provided that each country shall exempt from tax the dividends paid to persons other than its citizens, residents, or corporations by a corporation of the other country.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Finance

Articles of agreement of the International Finance Corporation. Done at Washington May 25, 1955. Entered into force July 20, 1956. TIAS 3620.
Signature and acceptance: Argentina, October 13, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.¹
Notification of approval: Viet-Nam, September 15, 1959.
International telecommunication convention. Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1952. Entered into force January 1, 1954. TIAS 3266.
Ratification deposited: Colombia, September 18, 1959.

BILATERAL

Indonesia

Agreements amending the agricultural commodities agreement of May 29, 1959 (TIAS 4248). Effected by exchanges of notes at Djakarta October 1, 1959. Entered into force October 1, 1959.

Israel

Agreement amending the technical cooperation joint fund program agreement of May 9, 1952 (TIAS 2570), as amended. Effected by exchange of notes at Tel Aviv June 26 and at Jerusalem September 24, 1959. Entered into force September 24, 1959.

Japan

Agreement amending the agreement of May 14, 1954 (TIAS 2985), and the procès-verbal of January 18, 1955 (TIAS 3162), for the loan of United States naval vessels to Japan. Effected by exchange of notes at Tokyo October 2, 1959. Entered into force October 2, 1959.

Netherlands

Agreement approving the procedures for reciprocal filing of classified patent applications. Effected by exchange of notes at The Hague October 8, 1959. Entered into force October 8, 1959.

Norway

Convention modifying and supplementing the convention of June 13, 1949 (TIAS 2357), for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income. Signed at Oslo July 10, 1958.
Ratifications exchanged: October 21, 1959.
Entered into force: October 21, 1959.

Pakistan

Agreement further amending the agricultural commodities

¹ Not in force.

¹ BULLETIN of Aug. 4, 1958, p. 222.

² Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2358.

agreement of November 26, 1958, as amended (TIAS 4137 and 4257). Effected by exchange of notes at Karachi October 7 and 8, 1959. Entered into force October 8, 1959.

United Arab Republic

Agreement amending the agreement of May 5, 1959 (TIAS 4223), supplementing and amending the agricultural commodities agreement of December 24, 1958 (TIAS 4147). Effected by exchange of notes at Cairo October 14, 1959. Entered into force October 14, 1959.

Yemen

Agreement supplementing and extending the agreement of June 24 and 30, 1959 (TIAS 4286), granting special economic assistance to finance wheat transportation costs in Yemen. Effected by exchange of notes at Taiz October 3 and 4, 1959. Entered into force October 4, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Delegation of Certain Functions Under Mutual Security Act

ADMINISTRATION OF MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1954 AND DELEGATION OF CERTAIN RELATED FUNCTIONS¹

By virtue of the authority vested in me by Executive Order No. 10560, as amended, section 4 of the Act of May 26, 1949 (63 Stat. 111, 5 U.S.C. 151c), as amended, and as Secretary of State, Delegation of Authority No. 85 of June 30, 1955 (20 F.R. 4825), as heretofore amended, is amended as follows:

1. The unnumbered, introductory paragraph is amended by inserting "10560, Executive Order No. 10575, Executive Order No." after "Executive Order No."

2. Section 2 a. is amended by substituting "and furnishing foreign policy guidance thereto;" for the period at the end of subparagraph (9), and by adding the following new subparagraphs (10), (11), (12), and (13):

(10) The function which the Department of State is authorized to carry out by section 4(a)(1) of Executive Order 10560 of allocating or transferring foreign currencies to the Development Loan Fund;

(11) The function conferred upon the Department of State by section 4(d)(4) of Executive Order 10560 of carrying out the purposes of sections 104(d) and 104(e) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 except to the extent that section 104(e) pertains to the loans referred to in section 4(d)(5) of Executive Order 10560;

(12) The functions conferred upon the Department of State and the Secretary of State by sections 4(d)(7)(i) and 4(d)(7)(ii), respectively, of Executive Order 10560, relating to foreign currencies available to carry out the purposes of section 104(g) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954;

¹ Public notice 166; 24 Fed. Reg. 8555.

(13) The function conferred upon the Secretary of State by section 4(d)(7)(iii) of Executive Order 10560 of supervising and directing the Development Loan Fund with respect to that order.

3. This Delegation of Authority shall be deemed to have become effective June 25, 1959.

Dated: October 12, 1959.

[SEAL]

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

Recess Appointments

The President on October 20 appointed Edson O. Sessions to be Ambassador to Finland. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 739 dated October 20.)

Designations

John M. Steeves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, effective October 19.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: October 19-25

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. Release issued prior to October 19 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 732 of October 18.

No.	Date	Subject
733	10/19	Delegation to Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission (rewrite).
734	10/19	Flood relief for India (rewrite).
735	10/19	Assistant Secretary Jones to visit South Asia.
736	10/19	Advisers to U.S. delegation to Antarctica conference (rewrite) (printed in BULLETIN of Nov. 2, 1959).
737	10/20	Jordan credentials (rewrite).
738	10/20	Murphy: "The Shape of American Policy."
*739	10/20	Sessions appointed Ambassador to Finland (biographic details).
740	10/21	Income-tax convention with Norway.
741	10/21	Premieres of U.S. and Soviet films.
742	10/22	U.K. removes exchange restrictions for British foreign travel.
743	10/22	Third anniversary of Hungarian revolution.
744	10/22	Leghorn appointment.
*745	10/22	Murphy: "United States Foreign Policy in Europe."
*746	10/22	Foreign students call on Secretary Herter.
747	10/23	15th session of GATT (delegation).
748	10/23	B-29 case removed from ICJ calendar.
*749	10/23	Cultural exchange (Argentina).
*750	10/23	Program for visit of President of Guinea (rewrite).
751	10/24	Japanese trade mission visits U.S.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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